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THE CAREER OF SAMUEL BUTLER (1835–1902):
A BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE CAREER OF SAMUEL BUTLER

(1835 – 1902)

A Bibliography

by

STANLEY B. HARKNESS

THE BODLEY HEAD

LONDON

First published 1955

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Printed in Great Britain by
WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BECCLES
for JOHN LANE, THE BODLEY HEAD LIMITED
28 Little Russell Street, London, W.C.1

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I

The Career of Samuel Butler : A Symposium

I

THE CAREER OF SAMUEL BUTLER: A SYMPOSIUM

More notably than the career of any of his contemporaries, the career of Samuel Butler illustrates the dilemma of a writer born out of his due time, whose endeavours to set the crooked straight were thwarted while he lived, only to be approved and confirmed after his death. In his persistent efforts to rid us of jejune and conventional standards of thinking and living, he willingly ran the risk of getting rid of himself also. The art of 'covery', he says, is as important and interesting as that of dis-covery: 'Surely the glory of finally getting rid of and burying a long and troublesome matter should be as great as that of making an important discovery. The trouble is that the coverer is like Samson who perished in the wreck of what he had destroyed; if he gets rid of a thing effectively, he gets rid of himself also.'[1]

Butler deplored his inability to find favour; but the situation was inevitable. No man was ever less likely to make concessions to his readers. There was nothing for it but that he should sacrifice his reputation for his ideas, being as resigned as a man of his tremendous mental energy can manage to be with an ill-deserved obloquy. In 1880, subsequent to the publication of six of his books, he noted his disappointment that he had drawn so little comment from the public; but he was unwilling 'to take the pains necessary to achieve a guinea-pig success' and refused to 'kowtow' to those who could help him 'to that kind of thing'. He faced with frankness and no suspicion of false pride his failure to secure a financial return from his early writings, supplying

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1 *The Note Books of Samuel Butler*. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1917. P. 180. The references to Butler's works are in the Dutton editions, published in New York.

in his *Note Books* a list of his books together with an exact account of monetary losses for each of them. He had too much common sense not to realize how important public opinion is; but he was proudly conscious of not having sold himself to the public. One distinct advantage he recognized in his failure to achieve fame: 'I will willingly pay the few hundreds of pounds which the neglect of my works cost me in order to be let alone and not plagued by the people who would come round me if I were known. . . . Retirement is to me a condition of being able to work at all.' That time would corroborate the value of his ideas, he was confident: 'I am too fond of independence to get on with the leaders of literature and science. Independence is essential to permanent but fatal to immediate success. Besides, luck enters much more into ephemeral than into permanent success, and I have always distrusted luck.'[1]

The fifty years since the death of Samuel Butler have amply corroborated his hope for posthumous fame, his desire to live 'on the lips of living men'. But that fame was very slow in growth. He was not widely known at the time of his death in 1902; and the publication of *The Way of All Flesh* in the following year did not immediately attract much notice. Not until Bernard Shaw called attention to the importance of this remarkable novel was the English public roused to an appreciation of Butler's genius. From 1908 on, the Prefaces in the gradual re-issue of his works supplied the curious with a few facts about his life and writings. The publication of *The Note Books* in 1912 aroused new interest, but bibliographical information was meagre. *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Second Supplement, Vol. I (1912)) records a list of his chief works with a few suggestive references to an arbitrary assortment of articles about Butler. Mr. Harris's Bibliography appended to his volume *Samuel Butler: The Man and His Work* (1916) was serviceable for those who were unacquainted with Butler; but it is slight and suggestive only. For the already initiated, *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (1916) provided items, in the way of curious manuscripts and editions annotated by Butler, to

[1] *The Note Books of Samuel Butler*. Pp. 367, 371, 181.

be found in the British Museum; but it is obviously incomplete and comparatively brief. Under 'Biography and Criticism' it presents but eight items.

Not until 1919, with the advent of Henry Festing Jones's formidable *Memoir*, did the public really come to know much about Butler and his career. In these two massive volumes are embedded a very large number of bibliographical items. The Bibliography proper, prepared by A. T. Bartholomew, though superior in form and scope to any hitherto published, is 'not intended to be exhaustive', and is called 'A Short Bibliography of the Writings of Samuel Butler and of books and articles concerning him'. This, when supplemented by the numerous references in Mr. Jones's *Memoir*, affords an immense amount of material and might form the basis for an exhaustive bibliography up to the year 1919.

In the twenties Butler's crescent reputation stimulated new interest in his activities. An amusing contribution to Butleriana appeared in 1921: *The Samuel Butler Collection at St. John's College, Cambridge*, edited by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew. This Collection, including books, pictures, and effects of various kinds belonging to or connected with Butler, was begun by Mr. Jones in 1917; and it was he who contributed most of the objects named in the Catalogue. The first two divisions are devoted to pictures and music. In fact, the Catalogue throws much more light on Butler's activities as a painter, sketcher, photographer, and musical composer than upon his writings. Under 'Effects' are enumerated household articles which may amuse those who find an interest in Butler's personal habits and eccentricities.

Though the bibliographies thus far considered failed to keep pace with Butler's growing reputation, they indubitably helped gradually to orient him. It remained for A. J. Hoppé to produce a solid and comprehensive record of Butler's achievement up to the year 1925. *A Bibliography of the Writings of Samuel Butler and of the Writings about Him*, published in 1925 at the Office of *The Bookman's Journal*, London, a limited edition, is beautiful in format and excellently planned and is especially notable for the fullness and precision of its information under 'Editiones Principes', the result of a most industrious collation of 'all the first and rare editions of

books, pamphlets, and leaflets by Samuel Butler'. The notes under the record of each of Butler's works are full of interesting and curious matter, and were conceived 'in the belief that a meticulous compilation of this kind need not be dull'. Mr. Hoppé has amply justified this belief. Facsimiles of the first page of the manuscript of *Erewhon*, of the title pages of various first editions, of a Letter from Butler to the Rev. F. G. Fleay, and a picture of Butler's sheep brand used in New Zealand, add attractiveness to the book—an invaluable contribution to Butleriana.

Various volumes edited for The Modern Humanities Research Association contain items ranging from 1920 to 1926.[1] The publication in twenty volumes of *The Collected Works of Samuel Butler* in the Shrewsbury Edition (1923–26) supplied some fresh bibliographical material and added to the growing prestige of Butler. A detailed description of the contents of these volumes is included in my bibliography in Section II.

Clara G. Stillman in her excellent book on Butler included an extensive bibliography full of items not hitherto brought together, showing a wide range of references to books concerned with science, philosophy, and art.[2] And in 1934 Valery Larbaud, the French translator of Butler's works, produced a chronological account of the chief events of his life, noting the titles of his books as they came out. The second part follows Butler's fame, listing the titles of the various new editions of his works, and the titles of books and articles—especially French books and articles—about him.[3]

The British Museum is rich in Butler items, including some of his manuscripts. The record under 1939 devotes seven pages to Butler.[4] And the Library of Congress houses

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[1] *Bibliography of English Language and Literature.* Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes. 1920–26. I: 31; II: 90, 91, 109; III: 41, 42, 135; IV: 114–15, V: 97, 132; VI: 100; VII: 110.

[2] *Samuel Butler: A Mid-Victorian Modern.* New York: The Viking Press. 1932. Bibliography, Pp. 307–14.

[3] *Les Carnets de Samuel Butler*, Traduit de l'anglais et Préfaces par Valery Larbaud. Paris: Gallimard. 1936. 'Résumé Bio-Bibliographique', Pp. 25–31.

[4] *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum.* London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd. 1881–1900. See 'Butler', 'Erewhon', 'Cellarius', 'Homer', 'Periodical Publications', 'Leipzig', 'Shakespeare'. 1939. Vol. XXIX, Pp. 648–55: 'Samuel Butler'.

the complete works of Butler and many books about him. In 1943 there were fifty-six items catalogued.[1]

Of exceptional interest to Americans is the remarkable collection of Butler's books, paintings, manuscripts, and portraits at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. Acquired through the efforts of the late Carroll A. Wilson, an alumnus and trustee of Williams and a noted bibliographer, it was installed in the Chapin Library in 1945, in which year the *Catalogue* was published.[2] In the Foreword Mr. Wilson explains the impulse which led him to 'erect a United States Butler shrine' in Williamstown, 'so that an American Butlerian can at least commence his researches in the United States, and an occasional student can warm to the thrill of attempting to aggregate a favourite author *in toto*.' Mr. Wilson had the enthusiastic support of Mr. Geoffrey Keynes and Mr. Brian Hill, Butler's literary executors, in his enterprise. The Collection includes paintings and drawings by Butler; manuscripts of his prose, poetry, and music; first editions of most of his books; and many articles and books about him. Notable is the manuscript, in eight volumes, of *The Note Books*, referred to as 'the original master-copy'. And especially valuable are the orchestra scores of *Narcissus* and *Ulysses*, which were never printed.

In the thirty years of his activity as a writer, criticism did much to hinder, little to encourage, the spread of Butler's ideas. And even since his death—especially before 1919, the year in which Henry Festing Jones brought out his massive *Memoir*—the attempt to orient Butler baffled some of those who had a genuine interest in him. Ten years after his death, Edmund Gosse remarked: 'The positive value of Samuel Butler's books is a matter about which critical opinion is not yet uniform.' That Butler was an enigma even to those who had given him much thought is shown by the query raised by John F. Harris in his very useful volume devoted to Butler, brought out in 1916. Mr. Harris found it impos-

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[1] *Catalogue of the Library of Congress*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc. 1943. Vol. XXXIII, Pp. 21–4.

[2] *The Catalogue of the Collection of Samuel Butler in the Chapin Library*, Williamstown, Massachusetts. Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press. 1945.

sible to fit Butler into any system, 'however wide and comprehensively or uncomprehensively vague'. Twelve years after his death the spectacle of numerous notable commentators in their curious efforts to place and fix the nature of this elusive genius proved in the main a failure. When he labelled himself with that now famous epithet, 'the enfant terrible of literature and science', Butler had anticipated their difficulties in pinning him down. One mode of attempting to capture his fugitive spirit was to picture Butler as a composite of numerous personalities. 'In Samuel Butler there was a dash of Uncle Toby, a deal of Puck, some Zadig, of Don Quixote not a little, and very much of the Shorter Catechism', wrote Mr. George Sampson. Another critic saw in his work traces of Voltaire, Fielding, Defoe, Swift, and Nietzsche. Another mode of trying to assay Butler was to take a snapshot of a distinguished personality, caught at a moment when he suggests Butler. The diversity of celebrities that may thus be brought into requisition sufficiently indicates the rich possibilities of this critical method. For it appears that Butler resembles not only Juvenal and Boileau, but Thoreau, Lamb, Stendahl, and Schopenhauer; not only Mark Twain, but W. S. Gilbert, the author of *Pigs is Pigs*, and even Charlie Chaplin. But such dispersed gropings, here, there, and everywhere, subject to the caprice of the individual critic, not only failed to capture the elusive spirit of Butler but may have had some influence in delaying a reasonable explanation of his quality. Certainly none of the chance likenesses just enumerated adequately comprehends him. Butler's versatility, his eccentricity, and his subtle satirical implications made orientation a baffling task. A clearer understanding of his posthumous fame will throw light on this problem.

Butler's career culminated not in 1902 with his death but rather in the years following 1919, after the well-rounded and conservative criticism of *The Way of All Flesh*, *The Note Books*, and of Mr. Jones's *Memoir* had appeared—a criticism embracing his complete achievement and presenting with some degree of perspective an estimate of a thinker whose ideas had been in the main neglected or coldly received in his day.

The turning of the tide in favour of Samuel Butler in the years since his death has fulfilled for him his hope for posthumous renown. In general, the causes that have operated to bring his name renown are: the posthumous publication of his novel (1903); the vociferations of Bernard Shaw in Butler's behalf: the republication, beginning in 1908, of all but one or two of his twenty volumes; the Erewhonian dinners; Mr. Clutton-Brock's articles in the London *Times* (Oct. 8, 1908, and Dec. 5, 1912); the appearance of Mr. Jones's *Memoir* (1919); the publication of four volumes devoted to Butler[1]; and in the years 1923 to 1926 the appearance of the elegant definitive Shrewsbury Edition of Butler's Works in twenty volumes. All these events stimulated widespread comment, the earlier of them setting critics and a limited public agog, the more recent coming to be looked on as a natural acknowledgment of Butler's deserts.

The announcement of his death in 1902 aroused very little notice. The initial reception of *The Way of All Flesh* in the following year was not cordial. The novel sent only ripples across the waters of criticism as it slipped smoothly from the publisher's ways. There were few at hand to see it; and it made no resounding splash. Not until a few years later did the public become aware of its strength and seaworthiness, though H. G. Wells early declared it a 'Dreadnought'. To be sure the *Athenaeum* promptly paid its usual respects; the London *Times* delivered itself of a timorous notice; the London *Outlook*, in an article entitled 'Parents in the Dock', welcomed the 'profound unorthodoxy' of the novel and at once pronounced it 'one of the most remarkable novels of the time'. But there were at first no lasting reverberations of the few salutes fired in its honour. The second of his posthumous volumes, *Essays on Life, Art, and Science*, fell still-born from the press in 1904. The comments of Augustine Birrell in *The Speaker* may have given it some currency, though his remarks were superficial.

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1 Gilbert Cannan: *Samuel Butler: A Critical Study.* 1915. John F. Harris: *Samuel Butler: The Man and His Work.* 1916. C. E. M. Joad: *Samuel Butler.* 1924. Clara G. Stillman: *Samuel Butler: A Mid-Victorian Modern.* 1932.

It was three years after the appearance of the novel that Bernard Shaw made his famous statement about the neglect which Butler had suffered at the hands of the British public —the statement to the wide currency of which many critics attribute the rise of Butler's fame.

> 'It drives one almost to despair of English literature when one sees so extraordinary a study of English life as Butler's *The Way of All Flesh* making so little impression that when, some years later, I produce plays in which Butler's extraordinarily fresh, free and future-piercing suggestions have an obvious share, I am met with nothing but vague cacklings about Ibsen and Nietzsche. . . . Well, it cannot be denied that the English are only too anxious to recognize a man of genius if somebody will kindly point him out to them. Having pointed out myself to them in this manner with some success, I now point out Samuel Butler, and trust that in consequence I shall hear less in the future of the novelty and foreign origin of the ideas which are now making their way into the English theatre through plays written by Socialists.'[1]

Unquestionably the wide publicity accorded Shaw's remarks gave to Butler's reputation at this time a strong impetus. And Shaw continued to champion Butler's ideas and to incorporate them in his Plays and Prefaces.

Interest in Butler's personality was further stimulated by the publication in 1912 of *The Note Books*, and this added interest made necessary the republication of many of his books in the years that followed. Reviews of his works multiplied. An inner circle of the initiated in London directed fresh attention to Butler's distinction. In July, 1908, an 'Erewhonian dinner', suggested by Marcus Hartog, the scientist, was attended by some thirty-two devotees. The occasion became an annual affair, recurring for some seven years until 1914, when the war brought the dinners to an end. Among speakers and guests on these occasions—almost all of whom were paying tribute to Butler in books or essays —were Henry Festing Jones, Professor Hartog, Emery Walker, Desmond MacCarthy, Augustine Birrell, Bernard Shaw, Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, William Bateson, H. N.

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[1] *Major Barbara: First Aid to Critics*. June, 1906. New York: Brentano's. P. 172.

Nevinson, Professor W. H. Hudson, Gilbert Cannan, and Edmund Gosse.

The part that the English periodicals played in Butler's struggle for a hearing both before and after his death is of historical importance. This is best illustrated by the attitudes of the *Spectator*, the *Athenaeum*, and the London *Times*, which represent widely different and characteristic aspects of British opinion. The *Spectator* preserved a consistently conservative position towards Butler, its puritanical prepossessions and lack of humour rendering Butler's matter and manner equally offensive to it. In striking contrast the *Athenaeum* has given Butler a consistently intelligent criticism—with the one exception of its peculiarly obtuse comment on *Erewhon* in 1872. Unhampered by obsessions and dogma, ready to recognize the possibility of new truths, susceptible to wit and humour and irony and shrewd dialectic, the *Athenaeum* represents liberality, open-mindedness, disinterested opinion. Its comprehensive obituary notice best shows the depth of its appreciation and the weight of a genuinely felt loss at the time of his death—an attitude in sharp contrast to the dumbness of the *Spectator* on that occasion. The *Athenaeum* printed ten long reviews of Butler's works as they issued from his pen, and also many controversial letters concerning his ideas; and since 1902 it has continued to give him appreciative attention.[1]

But the history of the relations of the London *Times* to Butler is more significant; for the *Times* found it expedient to disregard Butler during his struggle for a hearing, only coming round to him after his death when his star was safely in the ascendant. Its strictures on his biological works in its earliest reviews give colour to his contention that the *Times* had neglected him because of his opposition to Charles Darwin. The publication of Butler's posthumous works and his growing popularity forced the *Times* to come round. In

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[1] Butler, however, rather perversely considered the *Athenaeum* reviews of early books, *Erewhon*, *The Fair Haven*, *Evolution Old and New*, *Unconscious Memory*, and *Alps and Sanctuaries* anything but laudatory. 'It was not until March 1, 1884, that the *Athenaeum* to the surprise of everyone came out with an article giving me hearty support. . . .' See Butler's Manuscript Note Books at the Chapin Library, Williams College. Vol. II: 220.

1897, it had been derisive; in 1902, upon his death coldly judicial and inappreciative; in 1903, it began to manifest a serious interest in Butler, but it was still dubious about the 'respectability' of his ideas; in 1908 it began to defer to Butler, softening its former harsh judgments; and finally in 1912 the *Times* was forced—by reason of the appearance of *The Note Books* and his growing fame—to accept him on his merits. Since then it has been enthusiastic, even lavish, in his praise.

In view of the lack, until some time after his death, of a wide appreciation at home, it is not surprising that Samuel Butler should have been little known in America and on the Continent before 1902. With the one strange exception of an edition of *Evolution Old and New*, brought out in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1879, American publishers appear to have issued no editions or reprints of his works until some time after his death. Butler's researches in Italy and Sicily in the eighties aroused a sentimental interest among the Italians. Five obituary notices appeared in Italian and Sicilian periodicals shortly after his death. Peppino Giannitrapani, Professor of English at Trapani, had by 1925 translated *Erewhon* into Italian. *The Way of All Flesh* appeared in an Italian translation in 1945. In 1879, a German translation of *Erewhon* appeared; and reviews of *Evolution Old and New* and *Life and Habit* appeared in *Kosmos* in the same year. The interest of German scholars in unusual Homeric theories accounts for the special attention they gave to *The Authoress of the Odyssey* in articles in 1899, 1900, and 1901. One comprehensive survey of Butler's career was published in 1913 in the *Frankfürter Zeitung*. The impulse to translate Butler's works into German began with a new translation of *Erewhon* in 1928; and the first translation of *The Way of All Flesh* in 1929. The Editorial Sempere of Valencia brought out *Erewhon* in a Spanish translation in 1926, and announced for future publication: *Erewhon Revisited* and *Life and Habit*. Another Spanish translation of *Erewhon* came from Buenos Aires in 1942. And *The Way of All Flesh*, under the title *El Camino de Toda Carne*, in Buenos Aires in 1944.

But the French have disclosed a more intelligent and a keener curiosity about Butler than any foreign people. In

1910 M. Jean Blum wrote for the *Mercure de France* an enthusiastic survey of Butler's achievement, hailing him as a humanist and suggestively relating him to Bergson. A more substantial recognition began in the twenties. In 1920 the *Nouvelle Revue Française* set out on the enterprise of issuing Butler's works in French translations by M. Valery Larbaud. *Erewhon, où de L'Autre Côté des Montagnes* (1920) was followed by *Ainsi Va Toute Chair* (1921), *La Vie et L'Habitude* (1922), and *Nouveaux Voyages à Erewhon* (1922), and *Les Carnets de Samuel Butler* (1936). Various French reviews bear witness to the intense interest that M. Larbaud's translations stimullated: notably M. Bellesort's astute and extensive article in the *Revue Bleue* (1921), M. Paul Souday's review in *Le Temps* (1921), and M. Louis Gillet's 'La Renommée Posthume de Samuel Butler'; a comprehensive and alert commentary on Mr. Jones's *Memoir* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1921). An admirable study of Butler, cool in intelligence and of wide range, came in 1921 from the pen of M. Abel Chevalley, whose *Le Roman Anglais de Notre Temps* includes a chapter devoted to 'Samuel Butler et Son Influence'. Succinct and discriminating, he surveyed the course of recent English fiction and related Butler, as no English commentator had then done, to 'Les Jeunes', the contemporary novelists whose obligations to Butler are so great. A very competent survey of Butler's achievement may be found in Madeleine Cazamian's chapter on Butler in *Le Roman et les Idées en Angleterre: L'Influence de la Science, 1860–1890* (1923). And finally Louis Cazamian extracts astutely the values of Butler's thought in an enlightening chapter on 'The Revolt against Mechanism'.[1]

The widespread criticism evoked by the *Memoir* served as a clearing house for adjusting conflicting opinions and had the ultimate effect of integrating Butler's reputation. The leading English and American journals printed lengthy reviews. The revelations of Butler's private life, as chronicled with infinite detail by Mr. Jones, produced divergent reactions among the critics. Those who harboured a prejudice against Butler's ideals found in the *Memoir* what they considered the basis

[1] *A History of English Literature*. Louis Cazamian and Emile Legouis. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. 416–17.

for an attack on his character. Some open-minded reviewers looked upon Mr. Jones's two volumes as a biography lacking in taste, or as too formidable a monument to Butler's worth; and still others thought the tribute admirably appropriate.

The adverse criticism was an indication that, even seventeen years after his death, Butler was anathema to many. In fact, the *Memoir* proved a boon to those disaffected critics who had been nursing an animus against Butler and his philosophy. The resentment which his subversive ideas had aroused among the proselytes of idealism and tradition showed itself in an intensity—not to say a rancour—which may be looked upon as a token of Butler's power. And the *Memoir* gave them their opportunity. Had the book glossed over the faults of its subject after the manner of conventional biography, had it played up the heroic side—and Butler had a distinctly heroic side—these detractors would have found their task more difficult. But the *Memoir* drew for us—in so far as Mr. Jones's knowledge made it possible to draw it—an un-idealized and frank portrait of the fallible man in his habit as he lived. It affords ample corroboration of Butler's solid merits: his worth as an original thinker, his intellectual vigour, the freshness of his observations on life, his alert reflectiveness, and his gifts of irony and humour. These admirable qualities, however, his detractors chose to minimize or pass over, for they conceived that he used these powers to pernicious ends. Butler fundamentally differed from them and was original and powerful in his opposition. Their object was to discredit his character. They avoided on the whole judging the *Memoir* as biographical art; dismissing it summarily on this score, they expatiate on Butler's defects and eccentricities, thereby hoping to belittle his importance as a thinker. The bulk of this damning comment emanated from puritanical and professorial American writers—notably Professor Samuel Chew and Paul Elmer More.

Professor Chew throws the chill of his aversion to Butler over his review of the *Memoir*[1]:

> 'For all the apparent breadth of his interests and for all the reverence that he exhibits in the presence of the few objects of

[1] *Modern Language Notes*, 25: 432–7. Nov., 1920.

his adoration . . . Butler was essentially a narrow-minded man. . . . In truth, his favorite method of standing propositions on their heads, though it is at times astonishingly clever, is often merely stupid. He is the father of those moderns who delight in paradox, "that bastard child of the half-lie", as Mr. Noyes has well phrased it.'

In the late Paul Elmer More we encounter a more responsible critic. He says a good word for Butler's *Shakespeare's Sonnets, Reconsidered*, for although he does not think that Butler 'has made out a case', he admits that he has 'demolished the flimsy theories of Sidney Lee and certain other so-called authorities', and that his own constructive criticism is worthy of attention. He also admires parts of *Erewhon* and praises Butler's 'cogency of style'. But the undertone of Mr. More's remarks is one of disparagement and determined animosity.

'From reading his works one got the impression of an impish boy crouching *perdu* behind a stone fence, from which he pelted the citizens on the highway with pebbles and bad words. The situation was made the more piquant by the fact that the good men who were going about their work seemed utterly to disregard the missiles. Now Mr. Festing Jones, the boy's silent partner in mischief, has jerked his comrade into the air, so to speak, and set him up on the wall, as on a pedestal, grimacing visibly to all the world. Mr. Jones's biography is no great work of art, but it is an interesting document.'

But for denigration at its best we must turn to an Englishman who in his passionate distaste for Butler would yield to no one.[2] Mr. Maurice Hewlett's hatred of Butler was so intense that the portrait he presents is blatant caricature, for he subordinates all the subject's other traits to one dominant note: Butler's vanity. The author of *Erewhon* is stripped of all his engaging and admirable qualities; the lines of his face are fixed in a cynical leer, and a petty egotism envelops him. Butler, carrying the stamp of one defect, shall in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault. Mr. Hewlett poses four counts against Butler:

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[1] *Unpartizan Review*. 25 : 20–24. Jan.–March, 1921. 'Samuel Butler of *Erewhon*'. Also included in *Shelburne Essays*, Vol. XI.

[2] *Fortnightly Review*. 112 : 904–8. Dec., 1919.

charlatanism in pretending that truth was his object, when pride and pride alone actuated him; the falseness of his premises; the love of little jokes, particularly of an irreverent and sacrilegious nature; and the cheapness of his Homeric humour. The obvious injustice of Mr. Hewlett's indictment will become doubly apparent as we turn to critics who are openminded and not animated by malice.

Two distinguished writers, who later championed Butler in his fight against vested interests, showed little enthusiasm for the *Memoir*. W. H. Hudson thought Mr. Jones's volumes tedious, puerile, vulgar, and 'at fault in the divine gift of selection'. And J. Middleton Murry considered it 'a laborious building a great deal too large for Butler to dwell in. . . . Nevertheless though Butler lives with much discomfort and some danger in Mr. Jones's tabernacle, he does continue to live. What his head loses by the inquisition of a biography, his heart gains, though we wonder whether Butler himself would have smiled on the exchange.'[1]

The majority of commentators, however, saw in the *Memoir* an appropriate and adequate tribute. They praised Mr. Jones for a sympathy, fidelity, and industry which were well expended on the genius of Butler; and some of them vaguely compared him with Boswell. Reflecting in general this view of the *Memoir*, a large bulk of criticism in America and England served, at this crucial period in the history of Butler's posthumous fame, to orient him. In this group belong Robert Morss Lovett and Henry S. Canby in America; and in England Holbrook Jackson, Arthur Clutton-Brock, Sir Edmund Gosse, H. W. Nevinson, Edward Shanks, Gilbert Cannan, and Bernard Shaw. Into the details of these reviews, with the exception of Shaw's, we need not go. Bernard Shaw was better able than anyone else to apprehend Butler's shortcomings and at the same time better able to do full justice to Butler's unique contribution to social criticism; so that his comprehensive comment on the *Memoir* is of great importance in consolidating our ideas of Butler's significance. The bulk of the six columns of Shaw's review is devoted to a frank confession of the weaknesses which

[1] *Aspects of Literature*. New York: Alfred Knopf. 1920. Pp. 113-14.

constituted Butler, as he thought, a fallible and eccentric man.[1] He dilates on what he conceived to be Butler's bigotry, his dilettante tendencies, and the faults springing from his imperfect education; in fact, he succumbs to the 'irresistible temptation' with which 'any person with an ounce of homily in him' must succumb when confronted with Mr. Jones's *Memoir*, which Shaw had no reason to suppose gave a one-sided view of Butler's life, overstressing and exaggerating the rigours of Butler's relations with his parents and sisters. Shaw pronounces the *Memoir* to be

> 'a staggering object-lesson in the villainy (no milder expression is adequate) of our conventional clergymen schoolmaster education and of the family and class life to which it belongs.
>
> 'When all is said that can be said against Butler, the fact remains that when he was important, he was so vitally important, and when he was witty, he was so pregnantly witty, that we are forced to extend an unlimited indulgence to his weaknesess, and finally embrace them as attractions.'

In the twenties, the republication of Butler's complete works in the definitive Shrewsbury Edition, together with fresh material supplied by the editors in the Introductions to each volume, gave an added momentum to Butler's growing renown. The many reviews of these volumes reassayed the books already well known, in the light of the facts revealed in the *Memoir*. Mr. Joad's volume on Butler (1924) met with the appreciation that so perspicuous an exposition of Butler's genuine service to evolutionary thought deserves. And A. J. Hoppé's excellent *Bibliography* (1925) supplied a rich fund of material that threw a new light on the history of Butler's career.

In the thirties, Butler's ideas continued to interest a wide public. Mrs. Stillman's treatment of him as a 'mid-Victorian modern' (1932), is perhaps the most complete and comprehensive encomium on Butler's distinction that has yet appeared. And even the obsessions of Malcolm Muggeridge in his splenetic and malicious volume (1937) have only enhanced Butler's reputation. For the critics have all but universally rallied to Butler's defence by damning the book

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[1] *Manchester Guardian*. Nov. 7, 1919. Pp. 332–3.

as 'a false and distorted view' of Butler's personality—'a hymn of hate', 'insidious and mean-spirited'.

There is still no diminution in the interest that Samuel Butler inspires. Four fresh volumes by Englishmen have recently appeared: two by G. D. H. Cole (1948 and 1950); one by P. N. Furbank (1947); and the most recent by Philip Henderson (1953). And Butler's literary executors, Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill, have issued more selections from Butler's works (1951). In 1949, the B.B.C. in London put on a Broadcast by John Hayward: 'Samuel Butler and his Musical Compositions', reported by Martin Armstrong, the British novelist, in *The Listener*.

One of the most interesting disclosures of this bibliography is the record of the repeated republication of Butler's two most popular works, *Erewhon* and *The Way of All Flesh*. *Erewhon*, the implications of which never seem to have penetrated the Victorian mind, took on a new lease of life after Butler's death; and in the twenties and thirties was republished in a great variety of formats, some elaborately illustrated, with introductions by distinguished critics. It has appeared in many 'library series', was translated into French, German, and Italian, and twice translated into Spanish. There is also a Braille version.

Even more astonishing as a confirmation of the enduring qualities of Butler's ideas and of his gifts as a powerful writer is the remarkable record since 1920 of an increasing interest in *The Way of All Flesh*. In that year when Mr. Jones's *Memoir* was giving a new impetus to Butler's fame, there were hostile critics, especially in America, who were convinced that it was a greatly overrated novel. One of them wittily but, as it has proved, erroneously, prophesied that, far from being a great novel, it would go 'the way of all flesh'. Since then *The Way of All Flesh*—as the record in Part II shows—has been republished in surprisingly varied formats, in many fine editions lavishly illustrated, with introductions by enthusiastic critics. The translations of the novel into French, German, Italian, and Spanish, and into Braille, are indicative of the widely increasing interest which Butler continues to stimulate. And now, fifty years after his death, one may hear *The Way of All Flesh* uttered on a

Talking Record. No English novel appearing as late as 1903, I believe, has been republished and reissued so often or in so many different forms as *The Way of All Flesh.*

The compiler of this bibliography, though his purpose has been to produce a thorough-going, comprehensive work, is under no delusion that the record is exhaustive. Yet he has attempted to uncover all the available important writings by and about his subject, as an exhibit of the career of Samuel Butler. The accomplishment of this task has been made possible partly because of the labours of Mr. Jones, Mr. A. T. Bartholomew, and Mr. Hoppé. A very large amount of material has turned up since these writers finished their work, especially in American criticism, to which they gave little or no attention. Mr. Carroll Wilson's *Catalogue of the Collection at Chapin Library* at Williams College has yielded items of the greatest importance; and his establishment of a Butler shrine at Williams College is a fine American tribute to Samuel Butler's memory.

The organization of my bibliography under various headings provides a means of approaching Butler from several angles. It demonstrates the scope, the breadth of his appeal; for Butler's versatility has evoked criticism and comment from writers in all fields of human interest. The distinction between Comprehensive Criticism or Significant Mention and Casual Comment seemed a useful discrimination. The Casual Comments, often of little intrinsic value, are very suggestive—when gathered, as these one hundred and fifty items are, from miscellaneous reading—of the variety of minds which Butler's influence has touched, however lightly.

II

The Works of Samuel Butler

II

THE WORKS OF SAMUEL BUTLER

Including: His Books, his Contributions to Periodicals, Letters that have appeared in print, his Paintings and Sketches, and his Music

1854

BLACK AND WHITE OUTLINE SKETCH: CIVITA VECCHIA. Drawn during Butler's second visit to Italy.

1858

ON ENGLISH COMPOSITION AND OTHER MATTERS. *The Eagle*, 'a magazine supported by the members of St. John's College, Cambridge.' I: 41–44. Lent Term. [Signed] 'Cellarius.' Reprinted in *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement with Other Early Essays* (1914). Pp. 205–10.

1859

OUR TOUR. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). I: 241–55. Easter Term. Reprinted in *A First Year . . .* (1914). Pp. 211–33.

1860–61

OUR EMIGRANT. Three articles. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). II: 101–13, 149–69; III: 18–36. June and Nov., 1860; Dec., 1861. [Signed] 'Cellarius.' Incorporated in *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement* (1863), except for 'Crossing the Rangitata', which is added in the 1914 edition of *A First Year . . .* Pp. 143–8.

1862

DARWIN ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES: A DIALOGUE. *Press* (New Zealand). Dec. 20. Reprinted in *A First Year . . .* (1914). Pp. 149–64.

DARWIN ON SPECIES. Letters to the Editor of the *Press* (New Zealand). Feb. 21, [Signed] 'A.M.'; March 14, a reply to 'A.M.'; March 18, [Signed] 'A.M.'; April 11, a reply to 'A.M.'; June 22, [Signed] 'A.M.' All printed in *A First Year . . .* (1914). Pp. 167–78.

DARWIN AMONG THE MACHINES. *Press* (New Zealand). June 13. [Signed] 'Cellarius.' Reprinted in *Press*, May 25, 1911; in *The Note Books of Samuel Butler* (1912), pp. 42–7; and in *A First Year . . .* (1914). Pp. 178–85.

A FIRST YEAR IN CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT. Samuel Butler. Compiled by Butler's father from letters and journals, and supplied with a preface, dated June 29, 1863. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green.

Reprinted as *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement with Other Early Essays*. Samuel Butler. Edited by R. A. Streatfeild. London: A. C. Fifield, 1914. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1915.

Introduction by R. A. Streatfeild.

Part 1:

A First Year in Canterbury Settlement.
Crossing the Rangitata.
Darwin on the Origin of Species.
Barrel Organs (not by Butler).
Darwin on Species.
Darwin among the Machines.
Lucubratio Ebria.
A Note on 'The Tempest,' Act iii, Sc. I.
The English Cricketers.

Part 2:

On English Composition and Other Matters.
Our Tour.
Translation of an Unpublished Work of Herodotus.
The Shield of Achilles.
Prospectus of the Great Split Society.
Powers.
A Skit on Examination.
An Eminent Person.
Napoleon at St. Helena.
The Two Deans.
The Battle of Alma Mater.
On the Italian Priesthood.
Samuel Butler and the Simeonites, by A. T. Bartholomew.

A FIRST YEAR IN CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT, AND OTHER EARLY ESSAYS. Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition.

——By Samuel Butler. Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. I. 1923. Part I: Cambridge; Part II: New Zealand; Part III: London. In Part III appeared for the first time in book form the following essays:

The Mechanical Creation.
Precaution in Free Thought.
Dedomenici da Rossa.
Instead of an article on the Dudley Exhibition.
The Performance of 'Jephtha' at Exeter Hall.
Performance of 'Israel in Egypt' at Exeter Hall.
Handel's 'Deborah' and Bach's 'Passion'.

1864

THE ENGLISH CRICKETERS. *Press* (New Zealand). Feb. Republished in *A First Year . . .* (1914). Pp. 198–202.

A NOTE ON 'THE TEMPEST,' ACT III, SCENE I. *Literary Foundlings: Verse and Prose Collected in Canterbury, New Zealand.* March. Reprinted in *A First Year. . . .* (1914). Pp. 195–7.

FAMILY PRAYERS: AN OIL PAINTING. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Vol. II of Henry Festing Jones's *Memoir of Samuel Butler* (1919). Presented by Mr. Jones to the Samuel Butler Collection at St. John's College, Cambridge.[1]

1865

THE MECHANICAL CREATION. Samuel Butler. *Darwin Among the Machines* in altered form, published in the *Reasoner.* July 1. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. I.

LUCUBRATIO EBRIA. Samuel Butler. *Press* (*New Zealand*). July 29. Reprinted in the *Press*, May 25, 1911; and in *The Note Books* (1913). Pp. 47–53; also in *A First Year . . .* (1914). Pp. 195–7.

PRECAUTION IN FREE THOUGHT. Samuel Butler. *Reasoner.* August 1. Part II, No. 10.

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1 See *The Samuel Butler Collection: A Catalogue and a Commentary*, by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew. 1921. P. 3. And Jones's *Memoir*, I: 115. This volume contains much curious information about Butler's artistic proclivities. In the main, only those items (belonging to the Collection) which are reproduced in picture form in Mr. Jones's *Memoir* and those paintings which were accepted by the Royal Academy are noted in the present bibliography.

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST AS GIVEN BY THE FOUR EVANGELISTS, CRITICALLY EXAMINED. [Samuel Butler.] An anonymous pamphlet. Three copies in the British Museum, and three copies at St. John's College, Cambridge.

PAINTING: HIS OWN HEAD. Samuel Butler. Inscribed 'S. B. Feb. 18, 1865.' Painted 'by way of a cheap model' with the help of a looking glass hung near a window.

PAINTING: CORNER OF BUTLER'S SITTING-ROOM, 15 CLIFFORD'S INN. Samuel Butler. Reproduced in the *Memoir*. I: 246.

1869

PAINTING: MISS ATCHESON. Samuel Butler. Accepted by the Royal Academy.

1871

PAINTING: A REVERIE. Samuel Butler. Accepted by the Royal Academy.

DEDOMENICI DA ROSSA. [Samuel Butler.] *Drawing Room Gazette*. Sept. 30. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. I, pp. 242–4.

INSTEAD OF AN ARTICLE ON THE DUDLEY EXHIBITION. [Samuel Butler.] *Drawing Room Gazette*. Nov. 11. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. I, pp. 246–50.

THE PERFORMANCE OF 'JEPHTHA' AT EXETER HALL. [Samuel Butler.] *Drawing Room Gazette*. Nov. 25. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. I, pp. 251–3.

THE PERFORMANCE OF 'ISRAEL IN EGYPT' AT EXETER HALL. [Samuel Butler.] *Drawing Room Gazette*. Dec. 2. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. I, pp. 254–6.

HANDEL'S 'DEBORAH' AND BACH'S 'PASSION'. [Samuel Butler.] *Drawing Room Gazette*. March 2. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. I, pp. 257–9.

1872

EREWHON, OR OVER THE RANGE. [Samuel Butler.] London: Trübner & Co. With a Preface.

—— [Samuel Butler.] London: Trübner & Co. 1872. Second Edition, revised and corrected. With a new Preface.

—— [Samuel Butler.] Third Edition.

—— [Samuel Butler.] Fourth Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co. 1873. Fifth Edition, the first in which Butler's name appears.

EREWHON, or OVER DER BERGEN. Uit het Englesch door P. G. Schernbeek, le luitenant-Ingenieur. Nijmegen: Adolph Blomhert. 1873. A Dutch translation of *Erewhon*. British Museum, 12621, dd 20.[1]

ERGINDWON: ODER JENSEITS DER BERGE, Nach der fünften Auflage von seinen *Erewhon* von J. D. Leipzig. 1879. Verlag von Johann Ambr. Barth. A German translation of *Erewhon*.

EREWHON or OVER THE RANGE. Samuel Butler. London: D. Bogue. 1880. Sixth Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co. 1884. Seventh Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co. 1888. Eighth Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Grant Richards. New Revised Edition, including Prefaces of the First and Second Editions, and a new Preface by Samuel Butler.[2]

—— Samuel Butler. London: De La More. Revised Edition. 1906.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. New Popular Edition. 1908.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. Tenth Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1910.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1917. With an Introduction by Francis Byrne Hackett.

Everyman's Library. 1917. Reprinted in 1919, 1920, 1923, 1926.

EREWHON, OU DE L'AUTRE CÔTÉ DES MONTAGNES. Traduit de l'anglais par Valery Larbaud. Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française. With an Introduction by M. Larbaud and an 'Avertissement.' 1920.

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[1] 'The copy of the Dutch translation of the book in the British Museum was not cut, so I had to do it fifty years after its appearance.'—W. G. Bekker: *An Historical and Critical Review of Samuel Butler's Literary Works*.

[2] *The Daily Chronicle* (Oct. 9, 1901) pronounces this 'the ninth edition of the original work, with a large number of added passages.' Mr. Jones's *Memoir*, I: xxii, relating to the Second Edition of *Erewhon*, says: 'All subsequent editions of *Erewhon* up to that of 1901 are reprints of the second.' As for the added passages, Mr. Jones says: 'Into the new edition he introduced about fifty pages, enough to start a fresh copyright in the book as revised.' *Memoir*, II: 353. Chapters xxvi and xxvii on the 'Rights of Animals' and the 'Rights of Vegetables' are wholly new.

EREWHON, or OVER THE RANGE. Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. 'Library Edition.' Reprinted in 1922 and 1923.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Page & Co. 1922.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. Chiswick Press. 1923. With woodcuts by Robert Gibbings.

—— Samuel Butler. Comprising Vol. II of the Shrewsbury Definitive Edition of Butler's Works. London: Jonathan Cape. 1923.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1923. Popular Edition. Second Impression, 1924.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1926. 'The Travellers' Library series.' Type reset, 1927. Reissued in five impressions up to 1931.

—— Samuel Butler. London: National Institute for the Blind. *Erewhon* translated into Braille. In three volumes, embossed. 1926.

EREWHON, Ó ALLENDE LAS MONTAÑAS. Traducción prólogo y notas de Ogier Preteceille. Valencia: Editorial Sempere. Prólogo: 'El Hombre y su Obra.' Notas del Traductor. 1926. A Spanish translation of *Erewhon.*

EREWHON, or OVER THE RANGE. Samuel Butler. New York: The Modern Library, Inc. With an Introduction by Lewis Mumford. Includes *Erewhon Revisited* (1927).

JENSEITS DER BERGE ODER MERKWÜRDIGE REISE INS LAND AIPOTU. Samuel Butler. Wien: Phaidon-Verlag. 1928. A German Translation of *Erewhon* by Herberth E. Herlitschka.

EREWHON, or OVER THE RANGE. Samuel Butler. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1930. With an Introduction by W. A. Eddy.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1931. 'The Life and Letters' series. With woodcuts by Robert Gibbings. A reissue of the Cape 1923 Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Cheshire House. 1931. Introduction by H. M. Tomlinson. Illustrations by H. Charles Tomlinson.

EREWHON AND EREWHON REVISITED. Samuel Butler. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 1932. With an Introduction by Desmond MacCarthy. Everyman's Library.

EREWHON. Samuel Butler. Newtown, Montgomeryshire: The Gregynog Press. 1933. With wood-engravings by Blair Hughes-Stanton.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1932. 'Florin Books.' Reissue of the Cape 1920 Edition. Second and Third Impressions, 1933.

—— Samuel Butler. New printed from the revised edition of MCMI by the Pynson Printers of New York in MCMIV for the members of the Limited Editions Club, with a special Introduction by Aldous Huxley and Illustrations and a special Design for each chapter made by Rockwell Kent. Limited Editions Club, Inc. 1934.

—— Samuel Butler. London: John Lane. 1935. 'Penguin Books.'

BOOK OF THE MACHINES. Samuel Butler. Cleveland, Ohio; privately published by the Booner-Vawter Fanform Co. 1940. A Reprint of three chapters from Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*. Illustrated by Corydon Bell.

EREWHON. Samuel Butler. Argentina, S. A.: Editora Espasa-Calpe. Colección Austral. 1942. A Spanish translation of *Erewhon* by Máximo Ibáñez.

EREWHON OVVERO DALL' ALTRA PARTE DELLE MONTAGNE. Samuel Butler. A Cura di G. Titta Rosa. 1945. Ghirlanda. Editoriale Ultra. Gennaio. An Italian translation of *Erewhon* by G. Titta Rosa.

The Manuscript of *Erewhon* is in the British Museum.

1873

THE FAIR HAVEN: A Work in Defence of the Miraculous Element of Our Lord's Ministry upon Earth, both as against Rationalistic Impugners and certain Orthodox Defenders. By the late John Pickard Owen. Edited by William Bickersteth Owen. *Samuel Butler.* London: Trübner & Co. First Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co. Includes Preface to First Edition and a new Preface (Oct. 8, 1873.) Second Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1908.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1913. New reset; and edited with an Introduction by R. A. Streatfeild.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Mitchell Kennerley. 1913. Introduction by R. A. Streatfeild.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1913.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition. Reprinted in 1929 with a Note by A. T. Bartholomew.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. III 1923.

—— Samuel Butler. London: C. A. Watts & Co., Ltd. 1938. 'Thinkers' Library.' With an Introduction by G. Bullett.

The Manuscript of *The Fair Haven* is at Christchurch, New Zealand.

LETTER to the Editor of the *Spectator*. 2369: 1470–1. Nov. 22. Butler objects to certain implications in the *Spectator's* review of *The Fair Haven*.

FREE-THINKING AND PLAIN-SPEAKING. *Examiner*. Dec. 20. A Review of Leslie Stephen's *Free-Thinking and Plain-Speaking*.

1874

PAINTING: MR. HEATHERLEY'S HOLIDAY. Samuel Butler. 'His most important oil painting, exhibited at the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1874; now in the National Gallery of British Art.'—*The Note Books* (1912). P. 12. Reproduced in photogravure in the *Memoir*, II: 211.

PAINTING: A CHILD'S HEAD. Samuel Butler. Accepted by the Royal Academy.

1875

CANADA TANNING EXTRACT CO. PAMPHLET. LETTERS.

'Extracts from Letters sent by Mr. Foley to the Foreman of the Works of the Canada Tanning Extract Co'y (Limited), at St. Leonard, between October 27th, 1874, and March 24th, 1875 and Other Letters and Extracts.'

'A Letter by Butler on P. 3 and another on P. 30, both signed.' Hoppé's *Bibliography*, p. 129.

'A Copy in the British Museum, liberally annotated in Butler's hand. . . . The copy at St. John's College, Cambridge, bears Butler's annotation on the front cover.'

1876

PAINTINGS: DON QUIXOTE, and A GIRL'S HEAD. Samuel Butler. Accepted by the Royal Academy.

1878

LIFE AND HABIT: AN ESSAY AFTER A COMPLETER VIEW OF EVOLUTION. Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co. First Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London and Edinburgh: Ballantyne Hanson & Co.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1878. Second Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890. New Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1910. New Edition with Author's Addenda (Nov. 13, 1877) and a Preface by R. A. Streatfeild.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1911.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1917.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition.

LA VIE ET L'HABITUDE. Samuel Butler. Traduit de l'anglais par Valery Larbaud. Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française. 1922.

LIFE AND HABIT. Samuel Butler. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. IV. 1924.

LA VIDA Y LA COSTUMBRE. Traducción de Ogier Preteceille. Valencia: Editorial Sempere. *c.* 1928. A Spanish translation of *Life and Habit.*

The Manuscript of *Life and Habit* is at The Schools, Shrewsbury.

LETTER concerning Hering and Erasmus Darwin. *Athenaeum* 2624:189. Feb. 9. 'Life and Habit.' Samuel Butler.

A PSALM OF MONTREAL. [Samuel Butler.] Written in 1875: first appeared anonymously in the *Spectator*, May 18, 1878. Reprinted in *Selections from Previous Works* (1884), in *Seven Sonnets* (1904), and in *The Note Books* (1912).

PAINTING: SKETCH OF HIS OWN HEAD. Samuel Butler. Reproduced as frontispiece in *Memoir*, Vol. I. Presented in 1911 by Mr. Jones to St. John's College, Cambridge; and now a part of the Samuel Butler Collection there.

1879

EVOLUTION OLD AND NEW: or The Theories of Buffon, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, and Lamarck, as compared with that of Mr. C. Darwin. By Samuel Butler. London: Hardwicke & Bogue.

—— Samuel Butler. Salem (Massachusetts): S. E. Cassino, 1879.

—— Samuel Butler. London: D. Bogue. 1882. Second Edition. With Appendix and Index.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1911. New Edition with Author's revisions. Third Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1914.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921.
—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. V. 1924.

The Manuscript of *Evolution Old and New* is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Zeitschrift für Einheitliche Weltanschauung auf Grund der Entwicklungslehre. By Dr. Ernst Krause. Heft II. Leipzig. 1879. Appeared in *Kosmos* (Feb., 1879) with MS. Notes by Samuel Butler. British Museum.[1]

A CLERGYMAN'S DOUBTS. Samuel Butler. Correspondence—some 15 Letters—published in the *Examiner* (Feb. 15–June 14, 1879). The last one—'The Righteous Man'—is given in *The Note Books*. Pp. 390–1.[2]

ERASMUS DARWIN. Translated from the German by W. S. Dallas. With a preliminary notice by C. Darwin. By Ernst Krause. London: John Murray. 1879. Copy with MS. Notes by Samuel Butler. British Museum.[3]

LETTER, Answering Alfred R. Wallace's Review of *Evolution Old and New*, in *Nature*, June 12, 1879. *Nature*. 20:169. June 19. 'Evolution Old and New.' [Signed] Samuel Butler.

GOD THE KNOWN AND GOD THE UNKNOWN. Samuel Butler. Eight Articles in the *Examiner* (May 24th–July 26th, 1879).
—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield, 1909. With a Prefatory Note by R. A. Streatfeild.
—— Samuel Butler. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. 1917.
—— Samuel Butler. Girard, Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Company. Ten-cent Pocket Editions: No. 224. (N.D.)
—— Samuel Butler. Included in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XVIII. 1925.
—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition. Reprinted in 1926.

The original manuscript of *God the Known and God the Unknown* is lost.

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[1] In connection with controversy over a 'covert attack' on Butler by Mr. Darwin. *Memoir*, II: 447 ff. The Notes by Butler in Dr. Krause's article indicate 'suppressed passages' and 'interpolated matter,' which bear on the controversy.

[2] See also *The Note Books*, Pp. 304–8. For exact dates of the separate letters see Jones's *Memoir*, I: 297–8, and Hoppé's *Bibliography*, Pp. 107–8.

[3] The Notes concern the controversy between Butler and Darwin over Krause's *Erasmus Darwin*.

1880

UNCONSCIOUS MEMORY: A Comparison between the Theory of Dr. Ewald Hering . . . and the 'Philosophy of the Unconscious' of Dr. Edward von Hartmann: with translations, etc., by Samuel Butler. Op. 5. London: D. Bogue.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1910. New Edition, entirely reset, with an Introduction by Marcus Hartog, M.A., D.Sc., F.L.S., F.R.H.S.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1911. Same as above.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1920. Third Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. VI. 1924.

The Manuscript of *Unconscious Memory* is in the University Library, Cambridge.

PAINTING: PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL BUTLER. By Himself. Now at the Schools, Shrewsbury.

THIRD PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL BUTLER. By Himself. Now at Christchurch, New Zealand.

LETTER to the *Athenaeum*. 2726:155. Jan. 31. 'Evolution Old and New.' S. Butler. Reprinted in *Charles Darwin and Samuel Butler: A Step Towards Reconciliation*, by Henry Festing Jones. 1911. And also in *Memoir*, II:448–51.

LETTER in answer to a writer in *St. James's Gazette* of Dec. 2, 1880. Butler's grievance against Darwin. *St. James's Gazette*. 1:5. Dec. 8, 1880. 'Mr. Darwin and Mr. Butler.' Samuel Butler. Reprinted in *Memoir*, II:456–8.

1881

ALPS AND SANCTUARIES OF PIEDMONT AND THE CANTON TICINO. Samuel Butler. (With Illustrations by Butler, H. F. Jones, and Charles Gogin; and a Preface by Butler.) London: David Bogue.

—— Samuel Butler. London: David Bogue. 1882. Reissue of Original Edition. Second Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890. Reissue.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1908. Reissue.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1913. New and Enlarged Edition, with the Author's Revisions and Index, and an Introduction by R. A. Streatfeild.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1913. Identical with the Fifield Edition above.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. VII. 1924.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. Toronto: Nelson. 1931. 'Life and Letters' series.

The Manuscript and original drawings are in St. John's College, Cambridge.

DRAWINGS: 'All (except a few which are lost) the original drawings for *Alps and Sanctuaries*.' Samuel Butler.[1]

LETTER. *Nature*. 23:312–3. Feb. 3. 'Mr. S. Butler's *Unconscious Memory*.' A Reply by Butler to Mr. Romanes' review in *Nature* of Jan. 27. Reprinted in *Memoir*, II:459–64.

1882

ON MEMORY AS A KEY TO THE PHENOMENA OF HEREDITY. A lecture delivered by Butler at the Working Men's College in New Ormond Street, London.

1884

SELECTIONS FROM PREVIOUS WORKS, WITH 'A PSALM OF MONTREAL' AND REMARKS ON ROMANES' 'MENTAL EVOLUTION IN ANIMALS.' Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co.

Selections from *Erewhon*.
" " *The Fair Haven*.
" " *Life and Habit*.
" " *Evolution Old and New*.
" " *Unconscious Memory*.
Remarks on Mr. Romanes' *Mental Evolution in Animals*.
Selections from *Alps and Sanctuaries*. A Psalm of Montreal.

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[1] These were not done during the year 1881. Mr. Jones says: 'Placed here in order of date because the book was published in 1881. Some of the drawings are by Charles Gogin, who did the frontispiece and the Madonna Della Neve on the title page, and who also introduced the figures into those of Butler's drawings which have figures; and a few are by me.'—The *Samuel Butler Collection at St. John's College, Cambridge*. H. F. Jones and A. T. Bartholomew. 1921. P. 11

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890. Second Edition.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 2935:124. Jan. 26. Calls attention to a slip in Mr. Romanes' *Mental Evolution in Animals.* [Signed] Samuel Butler.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 2942:348–9. March 15. 'Mental Evolution in Animals.' Samuel Butler.

THE LINNAEAN SOCIETY. *Times.* Dec. 6. P. 10. Butler's notice of Tylor's Paper: 'On the Growth of Trees and Protoplasmic Continuity.' [Unsigned.]

1885

GAVOTTES, MINUETS, FUGUES, AND OTHER SHORT PIECES FOR PIANO. Samuel Butler and Henry Festing Jones. London & New York: Novello, Ewer & Co.

The Manuscript is at St. John's College, Cambridge.

1886

HOLBEIN'S 'DANCE.' (Photographs by Butler of two drawings attributed to Holbein, with critical remarks.) London: Trübner & Co.

—— London: Trübner & Co. 1889. Second Edition.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3078:282–3. Oct. 23. 'Holbein's "Dance."' Concerning the attribution of the supposed copy of Holbein's 'Dance' in the Museum at Basle. [Signed] S. Butler.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3043:271. Feb. 20. 'Portraits of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini.' [Signed] S. Butler. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XIX.

LETTER. *To the Electors of the Slade Professor of Fine Art.* With a List of the Works of Samuel Butler, and Testimonials. A Leaflet with no printer's imprint. The Letter is reprinted in A. J. Hoppé's *A Bibliography of Samuel Butler* (1925). Pp. 43–4.

1887

THE SUB-DIVISION OF THE ORGANIC WORLD INTO ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE. Samuel Butler, Esq., B.A. *Science and Art.* April and June. Pp. 21–4, 42–4. In two parts, of which the first is a lecture given at the Working Men's Club, London, March 19, 1887. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XVIII.

WORDS OF THE CHORUSES FROM NARCISSUS, for rehearsal at Mrs. Thomas Layton's, London: 12 Adamson Road.

A copy is at St. John's College, Cambridge.

LETTER. *Academy*. Dec. 17. Pp. 410–11. 'Erasmus Darwin and *Evolution Old and New*.' Samuel Butler. Reprinted in *Memoir*, II: 466–7.

LUCK OR CUNNING AS A MAIN MEANS OF ORGANIC MODIFICATION? An attempt to throw additional light upon Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection. Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co.

—— Samuel Butler. Longmans & Co. 1890.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1908. New and Cheaper Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1920. Second Edition. Reissue with a new Introduction by H. F. Jones.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. VIII. 1924.

The Manuscript is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University.

LETTER. *Athenaeum*. 3135:716. Nov. 26. 'Mr. Darwin and Mr. S. Butler.' [Signed] S. Butler. Reprinted in the *Memoir*, II: 465–6.

LETTER. *Academy*. 815:410–11. Dec. 17. [Signed] S. Butler. Reprinted in *Memoir*, II:466–7.

1888

EX VOTO: AN ACCOUNT OF THE SACRO MONTE OR NEW JERUSALEM AT VARALLO-SESIA. With some Notice of Tabachetti's Remaining Work at the Sanctuary of Crea. Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS FOR EX VOTO. London: Trübner & Co. Nov. 30. A leaflet comprising a postscript to *Ex Voto* 'which may be easily inserted into a bound copy.' It contains the substance of *A Sculptor and a Shrine*.

EX VOTO . . . Samuel Butler. London: Trübner & Co. 1889. Revised, enlarged, and annotated edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans & Co. 1890. Reissue.

EX VOTO: STUDIO ARTISTICO SULLO OPERE D'ARTE DEL MONTE DI VARALLO E DI CREA. Samuel Butler. Edizione Italiana Tradotta . . . per cura di Cavaliere Angelo Rizzetti. Novara. 1894. An Italian translation of *Ex Voto*, including Butler's Italian 'Prefazione,' which has been translated into English and reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. IX.

EX VOTO: An Account of the Sacro Monte or New Jerusalem at Varallo-Sesia. London: A. C. Fifield. 1900. New and cheaper edition.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. IX. 1924.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1928. Library Edition. Introduction by H. F. Jones and A. T. Bartholomew.

The Manuscript of *Ex Voto* is at Varallo-Sesia.

NARCISSUS: A DRAMATIC CANTATA IN VOCAL SCORE. With a separate accompaniment for the pianoforte. The words written and the music composed by Samuel Butler and Henry Festing Jones. Op. 4. London: Weekes & Co.

The manuscript of the pianoforte score is in the British Museum; that of the orchestra score in the Chapin Library, Williams College.

QUIS DESIDERIO . . . ? Samuel Butler. *Universal Review*. July. Pp. 411–24. Reprinted in *Essays on Life, Art, and Science* (1904); and in *The Humour of Homer and Other Essays* (1913).

A SCULPTOR AND A SHRINE. Samuel Butler. *Universal Review*. Nov. Pp. 317–39. In two parts, the first of which is found in *Additions and Corrections* for *Ex Voto* (1888); the second of which is reprinted under the title, 'The Sanctuary of Montrigone,' in *Essays on Life, Art, and Science* (1904); and also in *The Humour of Homer* (1913).

1889

THE AUNT, THE NIECES, AND THE DOG. Samuel Butler. *Universal Review*. May. Pp. 126–37. Reprinted in *Essays on Life, Art and Science* (1904); and in *The Humour of Homer* (1913).

L'AFFAIRE HOLBEIN-RIPPEL. [Samuel Butler.] *Universal Review*. Nov. Pp. 377–92. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition. Vol. XIX.

A MEDIAEVAL GIRL SCHOOL. Samuel Butler. *Universal Review*. Dec. Reprinted in *Essays on Life, Art, and Science* (1904); and in *The Humour of Homer* (1913).

1890

THE DEADLOCK IN DARWINISM. Samuel Butler. *Universal Review.* April, May, and June. Pp. 523–40; 65–78; 238–52. Reprinted in *Essays on Life, Art and Science* (1904); and in *The Humour of Homer* (1913).

ART IN THE VALLEY OF SAAS. Samuel Butler. *Universal Review.* Nov. Pp. 411–24. Reprinted in *Essays on Life, Art and Science* (1904); and in *The Humour of Homer* (1913).

RAMBLINGS IN CHEAPSIDE. Samuel Butler. *Universal Review.* Dec. Pp. 513–23. Reprinted in *Essays on Life, Art and Science* (1904); and in *The Humour of Homer* (1913).

1892

A LECTURE ON THE HUMOUR OF HOMER. Samuel Butler. Delivered at the Working Men's College, London. Jan. 30, 1892.

—— Samuel Butler. In *The Eagle.* 17:158–93. March. Reprinted with a Preface and additional matter.

—— Samuel Butler. Cambridge: Metcalfe & Co., Ltd. Reprinted, with a Preface and additional matter, from *The Eagle.*

THE HUMOUR OF HOMER AND OTHER ESSAYS. Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. Oct. 13, 1913. With an Introduction by R. A. Streatfeild, and a Biographical Sketch by H. F. Jones. For Contents see '1904': *Essays on Life, Art and Science.*

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Mitchell Kennerley. Dec., 1913.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1913.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Containing a Biographical Sketch, and ten essays by Butler.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XIX. 1925.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3353:149–50. Jan. 30. 'The Localization of Scheria.' S. Butler.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3356:245–6. Feb. 20. 'The Topography of the *Odyssey.*' S. Butler.

ARTICLES AND LETTERS IN ITALIAN ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ODYSSEY, etc. Samuel Butler. *Il Lambruschini* (Trapani). June, 1892–Sept., 1894. This material used in *The Authoress of the Odyssey.* (See *Memoir,* II:149–56; and Hoppé's *Bibliography,* Pp. 115–6.)

LETTER. *Times*. Oct. 17. P. 4. 'The Sacro Monte of Varallo.' [Signed] Samuel Butler.

ON THE TRAPANESE ORIGIN OF THE ODYSSEY. Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). 17:353–65. Dec.

1893

ON THE TRAPANESE ORIGIN OF THE ODYSSEY. Samuel Butler. Cambridge: Metcalfe & Co.

SAMPLE PASSAGES FROM A NEW PROSE TRANSLATION OF THE ODYSSEY. Mr. Samuel Butler. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable.

L'ORIGINE SICILIANA DELL' ODISSEA. Samuel Butler. *Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana.* (Aci-reale.)

1894

A TRANSLATION ATTEMPTED IN CONSEQUENCE OF A CHALLENGE. Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). 18:131. March. A translation into Homeric verse of a famous passage from *Martin Chuzzlewit.* Reprinted in *Seven Sonnets and a Psalm of Montreal* (1904); and in *The Note Books* (1912).

ANCORA SULL' ORIGINE SICILIANA DELL' ODISSEA. Samuel Butler. *Rassegna della Letteratura Siciliana.* (Aci-reale.)

1895

ON THE SICILIAN ORIGIN OF THE ODYSSEY. *Italian Gazette* (Rome). Five articles: Feb. 9, 23; March 16, 23, 30. [Signed] Samuel Butler.

A NEW PROSE TRANSLATION OF HOMER. Extracts, with editorial comments. Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge) 18:484–8. March.

LETTERS. In controversy with William Ridgeway on 'Writing in Homer.' *Academy.* 48:54, 92–3, 131, 167. July 20; Aug. 3, 17, 31. [Signed] Samuel Butler.

1896

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3569:385–6. March 21. 'The Birds of Antiquity.' [Signed] Samuel Butler.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF DR. SAMUEL BUTLER, Headmaster of Shrewsbury School, 1798–1836, and afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, in so far as they illustrate the Scholastic, Religious, and Social Life of England, 1790–1840. By his Grandson, Samuel Butler. London: John Murray. Two volumes.

—— Samuel Butler. London: John Murray. Dec. 1897. Second Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. In the Shrewsbury Edition, Vols. X and XI. 1925.

The manuscript is in the Shrewsbury Free Library.

A FEW MS. NOTES AND CORRECTIONS: *The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler.* Samuel Butler. 'To this copy are added two quarto volumes of "discarded and duplicate letters," arranged by the author.' In the British Museum.

SHREWSBURY SCHOOL IN THE THIRTIES. *Shrewsbury Chronicle.* Jan. 1, 8, 15, 22. Letters written by the Rev. Edgar Montagu to Butler, with notes by Butler. Inserted in the British Museum copy of *The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler.*

WAS THE ODYSSEY WRITTEN BY A WOMAN? A Lecture given by Butler, 'sometime before 1897,' at the Fabian Society in London. First printed in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XIX.

1897

THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY, Where and When she wrote, Who she was, the Use she made of the *Iliad*, and How the Poem grew under her hands. Samuel Butler. London, New York, Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Nov.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1908. Reissue.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1913.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. [1922]. Second Edition, corrected and reset. With a Preface by Henry Festing Jones, dated Dec. 4, 1921.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1922.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition. Vol. XII. 1925.

The Manuscript of *The Authoress of the Odyssey* is at Trapani.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3692: 161. July 30. 'Shakespeare's Sonnets.' [Signed] Samuel Butler.

1898

THE ILIAD OF HOMER, Rendered into English Prose for the use of those who cannot read the original. Samuel Butler. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. Nov.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1900. Reissued.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. Preface dated Aug. 8, 1898.

—— Samuel Butler, London: A. C. Fifield. 1910. Reissue.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1914. Second Impression, corrected.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition, with Preface by H. F. Jones.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1921. Same as edition above.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XIII. 1924.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Walter J. Black. The Classics Club. 1942. Introduction by Louise R. Loomis.

The Manuscript of *The Iliad* is in St. John's College, Cambridge.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3713:907-8. Dec. 24, 1898. 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Ireland Forgeries.' [Signed] Samuel Butler.

1899

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3717:92. Jan. 21. '"The Only Begetter" of Shakespeare's Sonnets.' [Signed] Samuel Butler. In answer to Alfred Ainger's communication (*Athenaeum* 3716:59–60. Jan. 14).

SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS: Reconsidered, and in part rearranged with introductory chapters, notes, and a brief reprint of the original 1609 Edition. Samuel Butler: London: Longmans, Green & Co.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1910.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XIV. 1925.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1927. With a Note by H. F. Jones and A. T. Bartholomew.

The Manuscript of *The Sonnets* is in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

JONES AND MYSELF. Samuel Butler. Jan. 15. *Life and Letters.* 8: 125–41. June, 1932. 'This narrative is bound up in Vol. III of Butler's Ms. *Note Books.* Some use of it was made by Jones in his *Memoir,* but it is now for the first time published in its entirety.' A. T. Bartholomew.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3776:315–6. March 10. '"Beget" and "Begetter" in Elizabethan English.' A reply to Sidney Lee. [Signed] Samuel Butler.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3778:379–80. March 24. '"Beget" and "Begetter" in Elizabethan English.' [Signed] Samuel Butler.

THE ODYSSEY, Rendered into English Prose for the use of those who cannot read the original. Samuel Butler. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. Reissue. 1908.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Second Edition. With a Preface by H. F. Jones.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1922. Same as above.

—— Samuel Butler. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XV. 1925.

—— Samuel Butler. Washington, D.C.: National Home Library Foundation. 1936.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Walter J. Black. The Classics Club. 1942. With an Introduction by Louise R. Loomis.

The manuscript of *The Odyssey* is at Aci-reale.

LETTER. *Athenaeum.* 3846: 61. July 13, 1901. 'The σέλινον of the Greeks.' [Signed] Samuel Butler.

EREWHON REVISITED, Twenty Years Later, both by the Original Discoverer of the Country and by his Son. Samuel Butler. London: Grant Richards.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1908.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. 1908. Third and Popular Edition. Reprinted 1910.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1910. First American Edition. Reissued 1916.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1920. With an Introduction by Moreby Acklom.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition. 8th Impression.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Page & Co. 1923. Popular Edition.

NOUVEAUX VOYAGES EN EREWHON. Par Samuel Butler. Traduit de l'anglais par Valery Larbaud. Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française. 1924. A French translation of *Erewhon Revisited*, including a 'Préface du Traducteur'.

EREWHON REVISITED. Samuel Butler. Reprinted in Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XVI. 1925.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1926. Traveller's Library. Reissued 1927 and 1929.

EREWHON AND EREWHON REVISITED. New York: The Modern Library, 1927. Introduction by Lewis Mumford.

NUEVO VIAJE A EREWHON. Traducción de Ogier Preteceille, Valencia: Editoriale Sempere. c. 1928. A Spanish translation of *Erewhon Revisited.*

EREWHON AND EREWHON REVISITED. Samuel Butler. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. 1932. Introduction by Desmond MacCarthy. Everyman's Library.

The Manuscript of *Erewhon Revisited* is at the British Museum.

LA NUOVA QUISTIONE OMERICA: LE AUTORE DELL' ODISSEA E UNA DONNA? *Quo Vadis?* (Trapani). Oct. 4. Pp. 9–18. [Signed] 'Londra, Settembre 1901, Samuel Butler.'

LETTER. *Daily News* (London). Nov. 1. P. 8. 'Erewhon Revisited.' Relates to an offensive construction which Mr.—now Sir Arthur—Quiller-Couch put upon the marriage of Yram and Mr. Strong in *Erewhon Revisited.* [Signed] Samuel Butler.

LETTER. *Times.* (London). Dec. 31. P. 10. 'Bacon-Shakespeare.' Butler raises four questions to be propounded to 'upholders of the Bacon-Shakespeare theory.' [Signed] Samuel Butler. Reprinted in A. J. Hoppé's *Bibliography.* P. 122.

1902

THE SONNET: NOT ON SAD STYGIAN SHORE. *Athenaeum.* 3871: 18. Jan. 4. Signed 'X' [Samuel Butler]. First reprinted in William Turberville's *The Saxon Saga and Other Poems* (1902);[1] also in *Records and Memorials* (1903); in *Seven Sonnets and a*

[1] It was apparently 'lifted.' See Hoppé's *Bibliography*, p. 145; and the *Memoir*, I: xivc–xivd.

Psalm of Montreal (1904); in *Charles Darwin and Samuel Butler* (1911); in *The Note Books* (1912); and in *The Golden Treasury of Modern Lyrics* (1924).

LETTER. *Spectator*. 3842:253. Feb. 15. [Signed] Samuel Butler. Butler tries to persuade the *Spectator* that its review of *Erewhon* in 1872 was 'favourable'.

LETTER. *Times* (London). June 27. P. 10. By the Rev. Canon Joseph McCormick. Part I of Butler's undergraduate poem, 'The Two Deans,' is quoted in this letter. The Poem, in two parts, is printed in *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement, and Other Early Essays* (1914).

LETTER. *Quo Vadis?* (Trapani). July 12. Dated: 'Maggio 22, 1902.' [Signed] Samuel Butler. Reprinted in *Records and Memorials* (1903); and in the *Memoir*.

NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA: A POEM. Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). 24:66–7. Dec. Reprinted in *A First Year* (1914).

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES: An Homeric Picture of Cambridge Life. Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). 24:68–9. Dec. Reprinted in *The Note Books* (1912); and in *A First Year* (1914).

1903

THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler. London: Grant Richards. May.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Grant Richards. Colonial Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A.C. Fifield. April, 1908. Second Edition. Reissued eleven times up to 1920.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. May, 1910. Reissued in 1913 and 1914.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1916. With an Introduction by William Lyon Phelps. Reissued in 1927 and 1934.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Boni & Liveright. Unauthorized Edition. 1917.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition. Reprinted in 1927.

AINSI VA TOUTE CHAIR. Par Samuel Butler. Traduit de l'anglais par Valery Larbaud. Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française. 1921. Two volumes. A French translation of *The Way of All Flesh*.

THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler. London: Page & Co. 1923. Popular Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1923. Vol. XVII in *The Collected Works of Samuel Butler*. Shrewsbury Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1925. Modern Readers Series. With an Introduction by Frances Russell.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1926. 'Traveller's Library.' Reissued in Seven Impressions up to Oct., 1931.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. With an Introduction by William Lyon Phelps. 1927. Everyman's Library.

—— Samuel Butler. London: National Institute for the Blind. 1926. *The Way of All Flesh* in Braille. Five volumes, embossed.

DER WEG ALLES FLEISCHES. Roman de Samuel Butler. Wien: Phaidon-Verlag. 1929. Zwei Banden. A German translation of the novel by Herberth E. Herlitschka.

EL CAMÍNO DE TODA CARNE. Traducción de Ogier Preteceille. Valencia: Editorial Sempere. A Spanish translation of *The Way of All Flesh*. c. 1928.

THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler. London: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1933. With an Introduction by A. J. Hoppé. Everyman's Library.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Collins. 1934. Illustrated with Wood Engravings by John Farleigh.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: The Illustrated Editions Company, Inc. 1935. The Three Sirens Press. With Wood Blocks by Howard Simon.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1936. The World's Classics. With an Introduction by G. Bernard Shaw.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1936. With 36 Black and White Drawings by Sonia Nachshen.

DOCTOR SKINNER. Samuel Butler. New York: Privately printed. 1936. An excerpt from *The Way of All Flesh*. Ten copies handset and printed at the New School by Edward Bernfeld.

THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler. New York: The Heritage Press. Limited Editions Club, Inc. 1936. Introduction by Theodore Dreiser. Pictures by Robert Ward Johnson.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: The Book League of America, Inc. 1937.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Pocket Books, Inc. 1939. Reprinted 10 times up to 1944.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Duo-Tone Classics. Library Edition. 1940.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Grosset & Dunlap. Madison Square Books. 1941.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1944. Limited Edition. Illustrated in Colour by André Durenceau.

EL CAMÎNO DE TÓDA CÁRNE. Samuel Butler. Traducción directa por Máximo Ibáñez. Émerce Editores: S.A.: Buenos Aires. 1944. A Spanish translation of *The Way of All Flesh.*

THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler. New York: Books, Inc. Literary Classics Club. 1945. With 'A Foreword' by Carl van Doran; 'Samuel Butler: A Victorian Antinomian,' by Burton Rascoe; and 'An Appreciation of *The Way of All Flesh*' by Robert Van Gelder. End-papers and Decorations by William Sharp.

COSI MUORE LA CARNE. Samuel Butler. Traduzione di Enzo Giachino. Giulio Einaudi Editore. Arte Grafiche Fratelli Pozzo: Torino. 1945. An Italian translation of *The Way of All Flesh.*

THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler. New York: American Foundation for the Blind. 1947. 'Talking Book Records' No. 13. *The Way of All Flesh* recorded.

—— Samuel Butler. Harmondsworth, Middlesex; Penguin Books. 1947.

—— Samuel Butler. New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1948. Introduction by Royal A. Gettman.

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1950. With an Introduction by W. Y. Tindall.

—— Samuel Butler. New York. The Modern Library. 1950. With an Introduction by Morton Dauwen Zabel, and a short Bibliography.

UNDATED EDITIONS

THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler. New York: Books, Inc. The World's Popular Classics. With an Introduction by Curtis James Arnett. [N.D.]

—— Samuel Butler. Washington, D.C.: National Home Library Foundation. Jacket Library. Dedicated to Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. [N.D.]

—— Samuel Butler. New York: Classics Club. W. J. Black. [N.D.]

SEVEN SONNETS AND A PSALM OF MONTREAL. Samuel Butler. Cambridge. No printer's imprint. For private circulation. Note by R. A. Streatfeild.

Not on Sad Stygian Shore . . .
There doth Great Handel live . . .
Handel: Father of my poor music . . .
Who paints a picture . . .
What is't to live . . .
Men's work we have . . .
A Prayer: Searcher of souls . . .
A Psalm of Montreal . . .
A Translation Attempted in Consequence of a Challenge.
B. Ingroia's Italian translation of the First Sonnet.

ULYSSES: A Dramatic Oratorio in Vocal Score, with accompaniment for the pianoforte. The words written and the music composed by Samuel Butler and Henry Festing Jones. London: Weekes & Co. Chicago: Clayton F. Summy Co.

MS. of the piano score in the British Museum.
Orchestra score in the Chapin Library, Williams College.

ESSAYS ON LIFE, ART, AND SCIENCE. Samuel Butler. London: Grant Richards. Edited by R. A. Streatfeild, with an introduction by him. All the essays reprinted in *The Humour of Homer and Other Essays* (1913); and all but 'The Deadlock in Darwinism' appear in *Selected Essays* (1927), London: Jonathan Cape, The Traveller's Library Series. Most of the essays first appeared in *Universal Review*.

Quis Desiderio?
Ramblings in Cheapside.
The Aunt, the Nieces, and the Dog.
How to make the most of life.
The Sanctuary at Montrigone.
A Mediaeval Girl School.
Art in the Valley of Saas.
Thought and Language.
The Deadlock in Darwinism.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Grant Richards. 1904. Colonial Edition.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. May, 1908.

—— Samuel Butler. London: A. C. Fifield. New Popular Edition. 1923.

THE NOTE BOOKS OF SAMUEL BUTLER. *New Quarterly Review.* Nov., 1907, Pp. 137–64; March, 1908, Pp. 295–324; June, 1908, Pp. 447–84; Oct., 1908, Pp. 613–32; April, 1909, Pp., 219–24; Feb., 1910, Pp. 109–28; May, 1910, Pp. 229–48. Arranged and edited by Henry Festing Jones.[1]

—— Rearranged and added to. With a Preface and Biographical statement by H. F. Jones, London: A. C. Fifield. Nov. 12, 1912.

Contents: 24 sections of Notes on a great variety of subjects, including 'The Germs of *Erewhon* and *Life and Habit*,' 'Material for a Projected Sequel to *Alps and Sanctuaries*,' and 'Material for *Erewhon Revisited*.' Section XXV, 'Poems,' embraces pieces which had hitherto appeared in periodicals or in *Seven Sonnets*. All these pieces have been accounted for in their chronological positions in this bibliography. Under 'Poems,' then, are to be found youthful pieces:

A Translation from an Unpublished Work of Herodotus,
The Shield of Achilles, with Variations.
The Two Deans.
On the Italian Priesthood.

And:

A Psalm of Montreal.
The Righteous Man.
To Critics and Others.
For *Narcissus*.
A Translation Attempted in Consequence of a Challenge.
In Memoriam H. R. F.
An Academic Exercise.

And Sonnets:

A Prayer.
Karma.
The Life After Death.
Μέλλαντα ταῦτα
Handel.
Handel.

—— Selections arranged and edited by Henry Festing Jones. With Photogravure portrait of Butler by Emery Walker. New York: Mitchell Kennerley. 1913.

—— London: A. C. Fifield. 1913. Second Impression

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[1] For exact details regarding contents, etc., see Hoppé's *Bibliography*. Pp. 124–5.

—— London: A. C. Fifield. 1915. Third and Popular Edition.
—— New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1917. With an Introduction by Francis Byrne Hackett.
—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. 1921. Library Edition. Reprinted in 1926 and 1930.
—— Samuel Butler. In the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XX. A reprint of the original edition of 1912.

Unpublished Extracts from The Note Books of Samuel Butler. Life and Letters. 7:300–10. Oct., 1931. With a note by A. T. Bartholomew.

LES CARNETS DE SAMUEL BUTLER, traduits de l'anglais et Préfaces par Valery Larbaud. Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 1936. With a valuable 'Résumé Bio-Bibliographique', Pp. 25–31.

The MSS. of the published *Note Books* are at St. John's College, Cambridge. Eight volumes of *The Note Books* in manuscript—'the original master-copy'—are in the Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

1911

LETTER. *Press* (New Zealand). May 25. Dated May 7. Reprinted in *Memoir*, II:361–3. This number of the *Press* contains also a reprint of 'Darwin among the Machines', and 'Lucubratio Ebria'.

1913

A PARODY OF A SIMEONITE TRACT. Samuel Butler. Cambridge Magazine. March 1. In an Article, 'Samuel Butler and the Simeonites', by A. T. Bartholomew, Butler's parody is quoted. Reprinted in *A First Year* (1914). Pp. 266–72.

PROSPECTUS OF THE GREAT SPLIT SOCIETY. Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). 34:341–4. June. Reprinted in *A First Year* (1914). Pp. 239–43.

A SKIT OF EXAMINATIONS. Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). 34:345–7. June. Reprinted in *A First Year* (1914). Pp. 251–4.

LETTERS. To W. E. Heitland, from Samuel Butler. *The Eagle* (Cambridge). 34:349–52. June. Dated June 20, 1889, and March 19, 1897. The latter reprinted in *Memoir*, II:264–5.

1918

Cambridge Readings in English Literature. George Sampson. Cambridge University Press. Book iii, pp. 5–15. An Extract from *Erewhon.*

Century Readings in English Literature. Karl Young, J. F. A. Pyre, J. W. Cunliffe. New York: The Macmillan Company. New Edition. Pp. 970–3. Scattering Selections from *The Note Books.*

1919

Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon (1835–1902): *A Memoir.* Henry Festing Jones. London: Macmillan & Co. Two Volumes. Contains many of Butler's letters and notes, seven of his poems, and numerous excerpts from his writings.

1920

A Treasury of English Prose. Logan Pearsall Smith. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. P. 211. 'Fleet Street': an excerpt from *Alps and Sanctuaries.*

La Nouvelle Revue Française: Revue Mensuelle de Littérature et de Critique (Paris). 14:38–62. Jan.–Juin. Fragments from M. Larbaud's translation of *Erewhon.* Pp. 38–49, 'Quelques Procès Erewhoniens'; Pp. 49–62, 'Le Monde des Non-Nés'.

1922

Modern English Essays: 1870–1920. Ernest Rhys. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. II: 181–88. 'Rambles in Cheapside' by Samuel Butler.

English Prose. Chosen and Arranged by W. Peacock. Oxford University Press. Vol. V: 'Mrs. Gaskell to Henry James'. Excerpts from *The Way of All Flesh*: 'Dr. Skinner', Pp. 534–7; 'Dr. Zoo', Pp. 537–40.

Extracts from Modern and Contemporary Authors for Translation into Foreign Languages. Compiled and edited by R. P. Legros. London: Hachette. [N.D.] Selections from *Erewhon.*

1923

Now and Then (London). June. Pp. 9–10. 'In Memoriam H. R. F. February 14th, 1895.' Samuel Butler. A facsimile reproduction of the MS. of Butler's poem in memory of Hans Rudolph Faesch, recording his and Mr. Jones's friendship with Faesch.

Nouveaux Voyages en Erewhon. Par Samuel Butler. Traduit de l'anglais par Valery Larbaud. *Revue de France.* V: 791–836, Oct. 1, 15: VI: 26–69, Nov. 1, 15. A French translation of portions of *Erewhon revisited.*

Extraits des Carnets de Samuel Butler. Traduits de l'anglais par Valery Larbaud. *Revue de Paris.* Août 1. Excerpts from Butler's *Note Books,* translated into French.

HESIOD'S 'WORKS AND DAYS': A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH. Samuel Butler. Now first printed at the L.C.C. Central School of Arts and Crafts, by the School of Book Production. Arranged in type by J. H. Mason. London. 1923. Reprinted in the Shrewsbury Edition, Vol. XIX.

1923–26

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF SAMUEL BUTLER. Edited by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew. London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Definitive Edition, limited to 750 sets; of these, 375 sets only are for sale in the British Empire. Twenty Volumes. Made and printed in Great Britain at the Chiswick Press by Charles Whittingham & Griggs (Printers) Ltd. at Took's Court, London.[1]

VOLUME I: A FIRST YEAR IN CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT AND OTHER EARLY ESSAYS. Samuel Butler.

This volume differs from *A First Year . . .* published in 1914 in the following respects: although Parts I and II contain the same pieces (*q.v.* under '1863' in this Bibliography), the order is reversed, Part I being entitled 'Cambridge' and Part II 'New Zealand'. And a Part III 'London', of material not previously reprinted, is added:

The Mechanical Creation. From the *Reasoner,* July 1, 1865.

Precaution in Free Thought. From the *Reasoner,* Aug. 1, 1865.

Dedomenici da Rossa. From *The Drawing Room Gazette,* Sept. 30, 1871.

Instead of an Article on the Dudley Exhibition. From *The Drawing Room Gazette,* Nov. 11, 1871.

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[1] Included in this Bibliography is a list of the contents of these volumes which involves a rearrangement of old material and of material either never before printed or never before reprinted. Many of the illustrations in this definitive edition have already appeared in the *Memoir* or elsewhere; but interesting facsimile reproductions of MS. title pages and other examples of Butler's handwriting, as well as maps and other helps, have been introduced. Most of these are noted below. These volumes are nearly all equipped with Indexes.

The Performance of 'Jephtha' at Exeter Hall. From *The Drawing Room Gazette*, Nov. 25, 1871.

The Performance of 'Israel in Egypt' at Exeter Hall. From *The Drawing Room Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1872.

Handel's 'Deborah' and Bach's 'Passion.' From *The Drawing Room Gazette*, March 2, 1872.

Introductions to Parts I and II by R. A. Streatfeild. Pp. xi–xiii.

Introduction to Part III by Henry Festing Jones, Maida Vale, W.9. May, 1923. Pp. xiv–xxv.

'Samuel Butler: A Sketch', by Henry Festing Jones. Pp. xxix–lxiv.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Samuel Butler when an undergraduate at Cambridge, about 1858. From a photograph.

Butler's Homestead, Mesopotamia, N.Z. From a drawing by H. F. Jones, made from a photograph. Facing P. 116.

Samuel Butler soon after his return from New Zealand, about 1866. From a photograph. Facing P. 232.

VOLUME II: EREWHON OR OVER THE RANGE. Samuel Butler.

Introduction to the Shrewsbury Edition by Henry Festing Jones. 1923. Pp. xi–xiii.

Preface to the Revised Edition by Samuel Butler. Aug. 7, 1901. Pp. xv–xviii.

Preface to the Second Edition by Samuel Butler. June 9, 1872. Pp. xix–xxi.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Corner of Samuel Butler's Sitting-room, 15 Clifford's Inn. From an oil-sketch by Butler, dated 1865.

Facsimile of alternative title-page from the MS. in the British Museum. Facing P. xvi.

Dates of events mentioned in 'Erewhon' and 'Erewhon Revisited.' From the MS. in the British Museum. Facing P. xx.

VOLUME III: THE FAIR HAVEN. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1923. P. ix.

Introduction to the New (1913) Edition by R. A. Streatfeild. Aug. 1913. Pp. xi–xv.

Preface to the Second Edition by S. Butler. Oct. 8, 1873. Pp. xvii–xxii.

Apology to the First Edition by W. B. Owen. Brighton, March 10, 1873. P. xxiii.

Frontispiece: Samuel Butler about 1866. From a drawing by James Ferguson.

VOLUME IV: LIFE AND HABIT. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. P. xi.

Preface to the New (Third) Edition by R. A. Streatfeild. Nov., 1910. Pp. xiii–xv.

Preface to the First Edition by S. Butler. Nov. 13, 1877. P. xvii.

Frontispiece: Samuel Butler. From a sketch of his own head, 1878, now at St. John's College, Cambridge.

Index: Pp. 251–263.

VOLUME V: EVOLUTION OLD AND NEW. Samuel Butler.

Note to the New (Third) Edition by R. A. Streatfeild. Oct., 1911. P. xi.

Preface to the Second Edition by S. Butler. P. xiii.

Preface to the First Edition by S. Butler. March 31, 1879. Pp. xv–xvii.

Frontispiece: Mr. Heatherley's Holiday. From an oil-painting by Samuel Butler, 1874, now in the National Gallery of British Art.

Index: Pp. 361–93.

VOLUME VI: UNCONSCIOUS MEMORY. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. P. xi.

Note to the Second Edition by R. A. Streatfeild. April, 1910. PP. xiii–xiv.

Preface to the First Edition. Oct. 25, 1880. P. xv.

Frontispiece: Butler's Sitting-room, 15 Clifford's Inn. From a photograph by Butler.

Index: Pp. 297–318.

VOLUME VII: ALPS AND SANCTUARIES. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. Pp. xiii–xiv.

Introduction to the New (Third) Edition by R. A. Streatfeild. May, 1913. Pp. xv–xxi.

Preface to the First Edition. Nov., 1881. P. xxiii.

This volume contains 78 illustrations: a few by Jones, some by Charles Gogin, but the majority original sketches by Butler. The human figures in Butler's drawings were done by Gogin.

Three pages of Maps.

Index: Pp. 297–316.

VOLUME VIII: LUCK OR CUNNING? Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1924. P. xiii.

Note to Second Edition by H. F. J. March, 1920. P. xv.

Preface to Second Edition. Pp. xvii–xviii.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Clifford's Inn. From a photograph taken by Butler in 1888. View from Butler's window (1882). From an oil-sketch by H. F. Jones, now at St. John's College, Cambridge.

Index: Pp. 237–56.

VOLUME IX: EX VOTO. Samuel Butler.

Introduction to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1924. Pp. xiii–xv.

Translation of the Preface to the Italian version of Rizzetti. Signed: Samuel Butler. London, April 26, 1894. Pp. xvii–xxi.

Preface to the First Edition. May, 1888. Pp. xxiii–xxiv.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Il Vecchietto.

22 illustrations, for the most part the same as those in the Italian version of *Ex Voto*.

A map: and an Index: Pp. 217–29.

VOLUME X: THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF DR. SAMUEL BUTLER. Samuel Butler. Vol. I: Jan. 30, 1774–March 1, 1831.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1924. P. xi.

Preface to the First Edition by Samuel Butler. Feb. 25, 1896. Pp. xiii–xvi.

Introduction by Samuel Butler. Pp. xvii–xxx.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Dr. Samuel Butler. From a picture by Thomas Kirkby about 1822.

Dr. Butler's Handwriting at the age of fourteen. P. 11.

Portrait of Mrs. Butler. From a pastel-drawing made in 1816. P. 171.

VOLUME XI: THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF DR. SAMUEL BUTLER. Samuel Butler. Vol. II: March 1, 1831–Dec. 4, 1839.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Shrewsbury School in 1833. From a sepia drawing by Philip Browne.

Dr. Butler's Handwriting in 1853. P. 68.

Appendix: Pp. 451–74.

Index: Pp. 475–87.

VOLUME XII: THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1924. P. xv.

Introduction to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. Jones. 1924. Pp. xvii–xxx.

Extract from Preface to Second Edition by H. F. J. Dec. 4, 1921. Pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

Preface to First Edition. Sept. 27, 1897. Pp. xxxv–xxxix

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Nausicaa. From a photograph of a painting in the Museum at Cartona, called 'La Musa Polinnia.' 17 pictures, including photographs taken by Jones and Butler and drawings by Jones, A Plan of The House of Ulysses, and Maps.

Index: Pp. 282–93.

VOLUME XIII: THE ILIAD OF HOMER, RENDERED INTO ENGLISH PROSE. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1925. P. xi.

Preface to First Edition. Aug. 8, 1898. Pp. xiii–xviii.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Samuel Butler. 1896. From an oil-painting by Charles Gogin in the National Portrait Gallery.

VOLUME XIV: SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1925. P. ix.

Introduction to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. Jones. 1925. P. xi–xv.

Preface to First Edition. Oct. 1, 1899. Pp. xvii–xxi.

Contents include Shakespeare's Sonnets, with new numbering, emendations and notes. And: Shakespeare's Sonnets: Facsimile of the Original Edition of 1609. And: A Lover's Complaint, by William Shakespeare.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Samuel Butler and Henry Festing Jones in Gogin's Studio, Shoreham, 1890. From a photograph by C. Gogin.

VOLUME XV: THE ODYSSEY, RENDERED INTO ENGLISH PROSE. Samuel Butler.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1925. P. xvii.

Extract from the Preface to the Second Edition by H. F. Jones. Dec. 4, 1921. Pp. xix–xx.

Preface to the First Edition by Samuel Butler. July 25, 1900. Pp. xxi–xxvi.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Map of 'The Voyages of Ulysses'.

Nine other illustrations including maps of Trapani, of the Aegadean Islands, of the Ionian Islands, and a Plan of the House of Ulysses.

VOLUME XVI: EREWHON REVISITED. Samuel Butler.

Introduction to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1924. Pp. xi–xv.

Postscript to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. March, 1925. Pp. xv–xxii.

Preface to the First Edition. May 1, 1901. Pp. xxiii–xxiv.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Samuel Butler's Home (1898). From a Photograph by Alfred Emery Cathie.

Butler's Homestead in Mesopotamia, N.Z. From an early water-colour drawing. P. xii.

The sheep-brand used by Butler at Mesopotamia, N.Z. P. xxi.

Plan of the Temple at Sunch'ston on the Day of Dedication. P. 145.

VOLUME XVII: THE WAY OF ALL FLESH. Samuel Butler.

The Introduction to the Shrewsbury Edition, by Henry Festing Jones, contains much important new material: The Title; The Missing Pages of the MS.; The Omitted Letter; Reception in New Zealand; Ernest and Epicurus; The Broad Churchman; The Communicant; The Church-goer; The Voice of God. Pp. xiii–xxxii. 1925.

Note to First Edition by R. A. Streatfeild. P. xxxiii.
Appendix: Addenda for the Pontifex Novel. Pp. 411–13.

Illustrations:
Frontispiece: Family Prayers. From an oil-painting by Samuel Butler, 1864, now at St. John's College, Cambridge.
Facsimile of title-page. From the MS. in the British Museum. Facing P. xii.
Chronology for *The Way of All Flesh*. From the MS. in the British Museum. Between Pp. xiv and xv.

VOLUME XVIII: COLLECTED ESSAYS. Samuel Butler. Vol. I:
Introduction to the Shrewsbury Edition by H. F. J. and A. T. B. 1925. Pp. ix–x.
Introduction to *Essays in Life, Art, and Science*. By R. A. Streatfeild. 1904. Pp. xi–xiii.
Extract from The Introduction to *The Humour of Homer, and Other Essays*, by R. A. Streatfeild. 1913. Pp. xiv–xv.
Illustrations: Frontispiece: Photograph of Samuel Butler by Pizzetti at Varallo, 1889.

Contents:
God the Known and God the Unknown.
A Clergyman's Doubts.
Printed for the first time from Butler's MSS.:
Life and Habit, Vol. II.
On the Genesis of Feeling.
On Knowing what gives us Pleasure.
Proficiency and Originality.
The Sub-division of the Organic World into Animal and Vegetable.
Croesus's Kitchen-Maid.

VOLUME XIX: COLLECTED ESSAYS. Samuel Butler. Vol. II:
Note by A. T. B. P. 2.
Illustrations:
Frontispiece: Facsimile of a postcard from Butler to Jones.
15 illustrations for 'The Sanctuary of Montrigone.' 'L'Affaire Holbein-Rippel' and 'A Mediaeval Girl School.'

Contents:
The Deadlock in Darwinism.
Thought and Language.

How to Make the best of life.
Quis Desiderio . . . ?
The Aunt, the Nieces, and the Dog.
Ramblings in Cheapside.
Portraits of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini
The Sanctuary of Montrigone.
L'Affaire Holbein-Rippel.
A Mediaeval Girl School.
Art in the Valley of the Saas.
The Humour of Homer.
Printed for the first time from Butler's MSS.:
Was the *Odyssey* written by a woman?
The Works and Days of Hesiod translated.

VOLUME XX: THE NOTE BOOKS OF SAMUEL BUTLER.

A Reprint of the Original Edition of 1921, with mistakes and misprints corrected.

Note to the Shrewsbury Edition by Henry Festing Jones. Mont Eryx, Trapani, Sicily. Aug., 1912. Pp. xiii–xliii.

Bio-Bibliographical Statement. Pp. xlv–lv.

Contents: Twenty-four Sections of Notes, as in the 1912 Edition. Section xxv, 'poems,' includes Prefatory Notes, Pp. 387–92; and the text of the Choruses and Recitatives from the Cantata 'Narcissus' and the Oratorio 'Ulysses', 'now for the first time reprinted from the beginning of the vocal scores'. The ten Sonnets include two, 'Remorse' addressed to Miss Savage, which did not appear in the earlier edition of *The Note Books*.

Illustrations:

Frontispiece: Samuel Butler. From a photograph taken by Alfred Emery Cathie in 1895.

Half a page of the Index of Butler's *Note Books*. From the original MS. P. xxxviii.

Index: Pp. 429–93.

1924

The Modern Student's Book of English Literature. Harry Morgan Ayres, Will David Howe, Frederick Morgan Padelford. New York, Chicago, Boston; Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 853–7. The last half of Butler's 'Ramblings in Cheapside'.

The Golden Treasury of Modern Lyrics. Selected and Arranged by Laurence Binyon. New York and London: The Macmillan Company. P. 173. Sonnet: 'Not on Sad Stygian Shore'.

Smoke Rings and Roundelays: Blendings from Prose and Verse since Raleigh's time. Compiled by Wilfred Partington. London: John Castle.[1]

1925

The Oxford Book of English Prose. Edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. Pp. 856–8, 'The Turtle', from 'Ramblings in Cheapside'. Pp. 858–60, 'The Statues', from *Erewhon*, Ch. v.

LETTERS from Samuel Butler to the Rev. E. G. Fleay. First published in A. J. Hoppé's *Bibliography of the Writings of Samuel Butler* (1925). Pp. 163–75: Nine Letters, ranging in date from Aug. 7, 1867, to Feb. 22, 1876, and all but one written at 15 Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street.

1926

Samuel Butler and His Family Relations. Mrs. R. S. Garnett. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Contains: 12 Letters written by Samuel Butler and hitherto unprinted: one to his aunt, Mrs. Philip Worsley; one to his niece, Miss M. H. Butler; and ten to his sister, Miss May Butler. There are also illustrations: two pictures of Butler's father, one of his mother, and one of his sister May.

1927

The New World: Second Series. Harold Bruce and Guy Montgomery. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 234–64. 'The Book of the Machines' from *Erewhon*.

Selected Essays. Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. With a Sketch of the Life of Samuel Butler by Henry Festing Jones. Traveller's Library. Includes the same essays—except for '*The Deadlock In Darwinism*'—that appeared in the Library Edition under the title, *The Humour of Homer*.

—— Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. Toronto: Nelson. Saint Giles Library. [N.D.]

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[1] P. 99 'The Talisman,' the anecdote about the crumb of tobacco in Dr. Creighton's invitation to Butler to come and visit him at Peterborough. From *The Note Books*. Pp. 199–200: 'The Little Protuberance' the account of the bump at the bottom of a pipe bowl. *Erewhon*, Ch. xxv. Pp. 248–50: 'A Theological Light', the incident of Ernest's giving up 'even tobacco' for Christ. *The Way of All Flesh*, Ch. 1.

1930

Selections from *The Note Books of Samuel Butler*. London: Jonathan Cape. Preface by A. T. Bartholomew. The Traveller's Library Series.

Catalogue No. 12. Barnet J. Beyer, Inc. 5 East 52nd Street, New York.

A list of 29 unpublished Letters written by Butler and nine cards addressed to his sister.

1931

Unpublished Extracts from The Note Books of Samuel Butler. Life and Letters. 7:300–310. Oct. 'These notes are a very small selection from those written by Butler between 1874 and 1883, and revised and written out fair between 1891 and 1897.' A. T. Bartholomew.

Charles Paine Pauli and Samuel Butler. Samuel Butler. *Life and Letters.* 7:252–98. Oct. With a Note by A. T. Bartholomew.

1932

Butleriana. Samuel Butler. London: The Nonesuch Press, 16 Great James Street, Bloomsbury. Edited by A. T. Bartholomew. Illustrations: Pictures of Butler, his Father, Pauli, Butler and Jones, Alfred, Miss Savage and Mrs. Boss.

Includes following writings by Butler: Autobiographical Notes (about 1883): 'Father and Son'; 'Charles Paine Pauli and Samuel Butler'; 'Jones and Myself'; 'Alfred'; 'Miss Savage': Three Sonnets to Miss Savage; 'Bossiana: Mrs. Boss and Mrs. Quickly'.

Samuel Butler's Note Books: Some New Extracts. New York: Random House. Edited by A. T. Bartholomew.

Samuel Butler's Note Books: Some New Extracts. In *The English Review*: Vol. 54: 500–13; 621–32. Vol. 55: 19–27; 152–56.

1934

Further Extracts from the Note Books of Samuel Butler. London: Jonathan Cape. Chosen and Edited by A. T. Bartholomew.

Pensées Choisies dans Nouveaux Extraits des Carnets de Samuel Butler, traduites par Jean Castet, publiées dans *Europe*, le 15 décembre.

1935

Letters between Samuel Butler and Miss E. M. A. Savage (1871–85). London: Jonathan Cape. Edited by Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill. Includes Sonnets on Miss Savage and Illustrations: Sketch of Samuel Butler 'from his own head'; A picture of Miss Savage.

1937

American School of the Air: New York City. Over 8 Stations on Feb. 9. 'Music composed by Samuel Butler, British Author of the famous novel, *The Way of All Flesh*, will be presented.'

1939

Familiar Quotations: John Bartlett. 11th Edition. Revised and enlarged. Editor: Christopher Morley. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Excerpts from *The Way of All Flesh*, *A Psalm of Montreal*, *Life and Habit*, *The Note Books*, *The Fair Haven*, etc.

1950

THE ESSENTIAL SAMUEL BUTLER. Selected with an Introduction by G. D. H. Cole. London: Jonathan Cape. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Includes Extracts from *The Note Books*, Verses, Large Portions of *Erewhon* and *The Way of All Flesh*; The Memoir of John Pickard Owen from *The Fair Haven*, *The Humour of Homer and Other Essays*, 'The Deadlock in Darwinism,' Songs from *Narcissus* and *Ulysses*; and excerpts from Butler's translation of the Odyssey.

1951

SAMUEL BUTLER'S NOTE BOOKS. Selections edited by Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill. London: Jonathan Cape. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. With an Introduction by the Editors. Pp. 5–10.

III

Reviews and Criticisms in Periodicals and Newspapers

III

REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS IN PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

arranged according to

(*A*) SEPARATE WORKS *and* (*B*) GENERAL CRITICISM

(A) SEPARATE WORKS

ALPS AND SANCTUARIES (1881)

Academy. 21:39–40. Jan. 21, 1882. Douglas W. Freshfield.
Athenaeum. 2827:898. Dec. 31, 1881.
Athenaeum. 4472:36. July 12, 1913.
Boston Transcript. 3:19. Dec. 27, 1913. E. Edgett.
English Review. 20:125–8. April, 1915.
London Mercury. 2:241. June, 1920.
Magazine of Art. (Cassell's). 5:xvi. 1882.
Manchester Guardian. 12:100. Jan. 30, 1925.
Nation (London). 13:649–50. July 26, 1913. 'Samuel Butler in Italy.'
Nation (New York). 98:15. Jan. 1, 1914.
Nation and Athenaeum. 36:364. Dec. 6, 1924. L. Woolf.
Observer. June 22, 1913. P. 4.
Observer. June 29, 1913. P. 7.
St. James's Gazette. Jan. 14, 1882. P. 20.
Saturday Review. 116:212. Aug. 16, 1913.
Spectator. 110:1066. June 21, 1913.
Sun (New York). Dec. 13, 1913. P. 5.
Tablet. 27 (N.S.) 249–50. Feb. 13, 1882.
Truth. 74:100. July 9, 1913. 'The Greatness of Samuel Butler.'
Weekly Register. 65:182–3. Feb. 11, 1882.

THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY (1897)

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IV

Authors

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AUTHORS

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(A) COMPREHENSIVE CRITICISM OR SIGNIFICANT MENTION*

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V

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V. BOOKS DEVOTED TO BUTLER

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VI

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VI. TRANSLATIONS OF BUTLER'S WORKS INTO OTHER LANGUAGES

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